

249126

JPRS-EPS-84-096

6 August 1984

East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

19980429 151

DTIC QUALITY INSPECTED 3

FBIS

FOREIGN BROADCAST INFORMATION SERVICE

REPRODUCED BY
NATIONAL TECHNICAL
INFORMATION SERVICE
U.S. DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE
SPRINGFIELD, VA. 22161

DISTRIBUTION STATEMENT A

Approved for public release;
Distribution Unlimited

17
80
A05

NOTE

JPRS publications contain information primarily from foreign newspapers, periodicals and books, but also from news agency transmissions and broadcasts. Materials from foreign-language sources are translated; those from English-language sources are transcribed or reprinted, with the original phrasing and other characteristics retained.

Headlines, editorial reports, and material enclosed in brackets [] are supplied by JPRS. Processing indicators such as [Text] or [Excerpt] in the first line of each item, or following the last line of a brief, indicate how the original information was processed. Where no processing indicator is given, the information was summarized or extracted.

Unfamiliar names rendered phonetically or transliterated are enclosed in parentheses. Words or names preceded by a question mark and enclosed in parentheses were not clear in the original but have been supplied as appropriate in context. Other unattributed parenthetical notes within the body of an item originate with the source. Times within items are as given by source.

The contents of this publication in no way represent the policies, views or attitudes of the U.S. Government.

PROCUREMENT OF PUBLICATIONS

JPRS publications may be ordered from the National Technical Information Service, Springfield, Virginia 22161. In ordering, it is recommended that the JPRS number, title, date and author, if applicable, of publication be cited.

Current JPRS publications are announced in Government Reports Announcements issued semi-monthly by the National Technical Information Service, and are listed in the Monthly Catalog of U.S. Government Publications issued by the Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C. 20402.

Correspondence pertaining to matters other than procurement may be addressed to Joint Publications Research Service, 1000 North Glebe Road, Arlington, Virginia 22201.

6 August 1984

EAST EUROPE REPORT

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

CONTENTS

ALBANIA

- ATA Reviews Hoxha's Book on Middle East
(ATA, 12 Jul 84) 1

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

- Effectiveness of Ideological Work with Youth Discussed
(Tibor Kruzlik; NOVA MYSL, No 6, 1984) 5

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

- Legal Argumentation Emphasizing Constitution Advocated
(Eberhard Poppe; STAAT UND RECHT, No 6, Jun 84) 11

POLAND

- New Defense Role of Aeroklub Discussed
(SKRZYDLATA POLSKA, No 3, 15 Jan 84) 22

Remarks by Tuczapski
Remarks by Hermaszewski

- Motivations for Party Membership Examined
(Augustyn Wajda, Zdzislaw Malak; NOWE DROGI, No 5, May 84) 31

- Party Journal Describes 'Ideological Battle' With Pope
(Beata Witkowska; NOWE DROGI, Jun 84) 43

ROMANIA

- Reportage on Trofin's Death
(ROMANIA LIBERA, 6 Jul 84) 46

YUGOSLAVIA

Defense Minister Congratulates Armored, Mechanized Units (TANJUG Domestic Service, 15 Jul 84)	47
Dragosavac Addresses Novi Sad Meeting (TANJUG Domestic Service, 11 Jul 84)	48
Joint Slovene Statement on Post-WWII Trials (TANJUG Domestic Service, 10 Jul 84)	49
Joint Slovene Statement on 1977 'Statement' (TANJUG Domestic Service, 10 Jul 84)	56
Pristina LC Session Discusses Kosovo University (TANJUG Domestic Service, 13 Jul 84)	59
Bosnia-Hercegovina Presidency Session Views Religious Communities (TANJUG Domestic Service, 13 Jul 84)	61
LCY Weaknesses, Strengths Described as Misplaced (DANAS, 12 Jun 84)	63
Fuad Muhic Called 'Ideological Minuteman' (DANAS, 29 May 84)	68
Marjanovic Answers Critic Regarding 'Hostile Propaganda' (Djordji Marjanovic; DANAS, 26 Jun 84)	70
Croat SAWP Conference on Religion (TANJUG Domestic Service, 12 Jul 84)	73
Briefs Armenian Delegation	76

ALBANIA

ATA REVIEWS HOXHA'S BOOK ON MIDDLE EAST

AU121200 Tirana ATA in English 0900 GMT 12 Jul 84

["Profound Scientific Analysis of the Great Political Problem of the Middle East--
The Book by Comrade Enver Hoxha 'Reflection on the Middle East'"--ATA headline]

[Text] Tirana, 12 Jul (ATA)--The communists, cadres and our working masses, the scholars of different political, historical and social fields have received with special interest and are reading Comrade Enver Hoxha's new book "Reflections on the Middle East." This book, through notes outlines for articles, analyses and general reviews, which are drawn from the "Political Diary" of the author and which belong to the period from 1958 to the end of 1983, makes a scientific, Marxist-Leninist analysis of the great political problems of the time which are linked with the Arab and non-Arab peoples of the two continents, Africa and Asia, and with what is called "the Middle East crisis" in the international arena. They reflect some of the moments and major events, the imperialist and inhuman activities of the superpowers and Israel, as well as aspects of the heroic struggles of the Arab Palestinian people, of the other Arab peoples, the Afghan and Iranian peoples against the plots of the two superpowers.

Since its very first pages the book "Reflections on the Middle East" [is] interesting for it reflects completely, accurately and with scientific objectiveness the major political, economic and social events during these last 25 years as well as the profound analyses and the important conclusions and teachings it contains. Following the events that have taken place in the Middle East and writing about them in the moments when they have occurred, the author makes an all-round analysis of them, based on historical materialism and the fundamental principles of Marxism-Leninism, discovers the internal and external causes, their complexity, interconnection and makes assessments and predictions the accuracy of which has been fully confirmed by the development of events in subsequent periods and have actual value.

In this new book by Comrade Enver Hoxha, the reader will find correct answers to why so many wars have been waged only in that region of the world, within a relatively short period, how it is explained that the Middle East crisis has assumed today such large proportions as to the dangers and consequences inherent in it that influence the entire world situation, what has transformed the Middle East into an extremely hotbed of endless conflicts, who are the open and secret enemies of the Arab peoples, and on a series of other acute political issues.

Throwing light on many facts and events, Comrade Enver Hoxha dwells in details on those capital problems that have worried and worry the peoples of the Middle East and all the world. First of all, he discovers the real causes of the explosive situation in this region, the roots of the conflicts in the Arab world, where only from 1948-1983 some wars, the one bloodier than the other, have been waged. There has been almost one war, and even two wars within a decade, as were those of 1967 and 1973. Twice in succession, in 1958 and 1983, the United States of America used its military strength to occupy Lebanon.

Comrade Enver Hoxha denounces powerfully and all-sidedly the hostile, anti-Arab and expansionist policy of Israel and international Zionism. [word indistinct] violent and all-sided exposure is also made for the antiArab and pro-Israeli policy of the imperialist powers which, in order to realize their interests, just like in the past, now too, stop before nothing, suffice to realize the aims of grabbing the Arab peoples of their national freedom and independence, and first of all the oil.

As Comrade Enver Hoxha points out "the American and British imperialists and the revisionist traitors are in diplomatic movement. All of them are waving the olive branch, all "wailing" about the defence of the freedom and independence of the peoples, all of them writing and sending telegrams and messages to this address or to that, but all of them hide the truth, that with all this deafening clamour, the American, British and French imperialists, the Soviet revisionists, the Titoites, and the others, are defending nothing but their own dirty interests to the detriment of the Arab peoples."

The content and true aims of the global strategy of American imperialism in the Middle East pursued by all the American presidents before, during and after World War II, down to President Reagan, the unprecedented arrogance of the United States of America which has proclaimed and treats the Middle East a sphere of its national interests, as its domain, are profoundly and all-sidedly analyzed. In this context, he uncovers the "new" forms and methods worked out in the White House to put into the orbit of American imperialism not one and two, but all the countries lying from Morocco to Iran.

Comrade Enver Hoxha explains and substantiates the aims of diplomatic missionaries in the Middle East, their step by step policy, that "cooked" the Camp David Accords, which did not and could not bring peace and solve even a part of the Arab-Israeli conflict. The main reason of it can be found by the reader through a number of writings where he sees that what place and role Israel has played and plays in the framework of the general anti-Arab strategy of U.S. imperialism, what efforts the United States of America has made and continues to make in order to ensure "secure borders," that is, borders which include all the Arab territories occupied through the armed force, for its pistol in this region, the basis of the American-Israeli friendship, the political, economic and military alliances between them has always been and still is their common hostility and wars against the Arab peoples. This friendship and alliance of the same anti-Arab aims is rooted in the motives and interests from which the United States of America and its [word indistinct] have proceeded in the creation of Israel." No aims based on altruism

or national sentiments impelled the British or American imperialists to create the state of Israel. Their aims were linked with their predatory economic and strategic interests in the Middle East, to preserve their bases and to have a centre of diversion amongst the Arab states."

Besides the open support by U.S. imperialism, Israel has had always the secret aid of the Soviet social-imperialists who strive to occupy a piece of sun in the Middle East. Therefore, of great current value are the writings in which, through many facts and arguments, the policy of the Soviet social imperialists in the Middle East is unmasked. In the outer appearance they pose as "friends" and "saviours" of the Arab peoples, but in essence are not at all such. In the most critical moments, as time has proved, they have left the Arab peoples in the lurch and have betrayed them.

Many writings in the book show what features the policy of the Soviet social imperialists has in common with the policy of the American imperialists, what brings these two superpowers together, and what has impelled them to collide in fierce and open clashes, before the eyes of the world or behind the scenes for many years and to trample on the freedom, independence and national and social interests of the impoverished and hard-working peoples of the Middle East. "It is truly, Comrade Enver Hoxha writes, a great tragedy for a series of Arab peoples in the Middle East that they have long been the prey of American imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism. They have been continually caught up in the intrigues of the Warsaw Treaty, represented by the Soviet Union and of NATO, represented by the United States of America that aim to have spheres of influence, markets and military bases in those countries. The aim of the two superpowers is to keep these peoples divided."

The topics dealt upon by Comrade Enver Hoxha are broad and include the main fields of life. They have to do not only with the struggle of the Palestinian people and the Arab peoples against the Israeli aggressors, but also with their struggle for social liberation, with the colossal oil assets, with the very ancient culture of the peoples of the big region of the Middle East.

Of great current values are the materials which treat the anti-feudal and anti-imperialist uprisings of the peoples of the Middle East, for instance the heroic struggle of the martyred Palestinian people, the struggle of the Afghan people against the Soviet social imperialist occupiers, the writings, which reflect in details the great values of these peoples in the field of culture, arts, science, philosophy, etc., their great contribution to the treasure of the world culture.

Likewise, of great values are also the writings on the energy crisis, which has swept over the capitalist-revisionist world and in this context the role of the countries of the Middle East, which are some of the biggest oil producers in the world.

Great and acute problems face all the Middle East peoples, who fight to solve them correctly. Just as it is stressed in this book, the Middle East crisis can never be solved as long as the Palestinian people have not regained their homeland grabbed and martyred by the aggressor Israel and this will be attained only when all the Arab peoples will deal powerful blows to the political, economic and military influence of the superpowers and of the other imperialist powers and their

political and economic influence is finally turned down. Today, the Palestinian people, the Lebanese people, the Afghan people, the Iranian people, all the other Arab and non-Arab peoples of the Middle East, are faced first of all not only with the problem of not falling in the traps and plots of the superpowers, the United States of America, the Soviet Union and Israel but to establish and strengthen the real unity inside their ranks and among them to cope with and subdue the united forces of Israel, the U.S. imperialists, the Soviet social imperialists and the local reactionary feudo-bourgeois circles. Only the resolute and uncompromising struggle, based on the real Arab unity, will lead them towards the victory of genuine independence and freedom, towards the exploitation of their colossal assets, oil, in favour of their national and social development and progress.

The materials of the book "Reflections on the Middle East," openly express the stands of the Party of Labour of Albania and the People's Socialist Republic of Albania on all the problems that have to do with the Middle East crisis, at the time when they have occurred, that is bear the seal of the time, they treat [as printed] of the firm principled stands of our country and people in favour of the struggle of the Palestinian people, of the other Arab peoples against Israel and the imperialist superpowers, of the Iranian people, the Afghan people, the freedom loving African peoples. These stands are also expressed in many important documents of the party and state, in different international forums, such as in the UNO, etc., where our representatives have defended the struggle and just cause of the fraternal Arab peoples. The esteem and assessments which are contained in this book are further proof of that warm and sincere friendship which has always linked and link the Albanian people with the Arab peoples, and with all the freedom loving and peace loving peoples of the world.

Proceeding from concrete facts and events, in some materials, Comrade Enver Hoxha expresses his profound grief over the misfortunes and injustices which have been inflicted on these peoples as well as his great joy over their exemplary struggle for their freedom and national independence, against the occupiers, the savage, Israeli, imperialist and social imperialist enemies.

The publication of this book, which has in its center an important topic of actual interest and which the two imperialist superpowers the United States and the Soviet Union, for their predatory political, economic and strategic-military aims have made it one of the most dangerous regions with the greatest tension in the world, constitutes undoubtedly a remarkable political, ideological and scientific event in the life of the country."

CSO: 2020/101

EFFECTIVENESS OF IDEOLOGICAL WORK WITH YOUTH DISCUSSED

Prague NOVA MYSL in Slovak No 6, 1984 pp 129-133

/Article by Tibor Kruzlik: "On the Effectiveness of Ideological Work With Youth"/

/Excerpts/ The conclusions of the 16th CPCZ Congress are the fundamental source of ideas for ideological and political-educational work among young people of present times. The congress raised to power a categorical requirement of increasing the effectiveness and quality of the ideological work as well.

To fulfill the demands of quality, effectiveness and aggressivity is an activity of special significance in the conditions of keen ideological confrontation. The bourgeois propaganda makes use of the tools of psychological warfare in a refined way, striving for the destruction of the socialist consciousness of people. It is the youth which is chosen as the object of its intensive psychological manipulation. This is due mainly to the narrower scope of life experiences of young people, to their frequent jumping to conclusions, to the prevalence of emotional stimuli over rational reasoning in them, to their radicalism in actions and other peculiarities of their personal, ideological, political and moral viewpoints.

The dynamics of, and controversy in, international relations requires that the cognitive receptiveness of young people be satisfied more fully, especially regarding the topic of international political events. We have to offer qualified and doctrinally effective information, explaining to young people the process of world revolution, the sources and causes of recession in capitalism, the inseparability of peace and socialism, as well as the unity of principles in our domestic and foreign policies from the Marxist-Leninist viewpoints.

According to trends in opinion, recorded by a sociological poll, 85 percent of our young people identify with the following thesis: as long as there is imperialism, there will always exist the danger of war. However, a part of our youth is characterized by lukewarm attitudes and veiled perception of the way in which the questions of peace relate to the results of an individual's own work when solving the strategic tasks of developing the socialist society and social progress. We ought to be all the more persistent and convincing, leading young people toward class consciousness, and fighting aggressively the emerging manifestations of pacifism.

Young people did not have the firsthand experience of the class struggle against capitalism. That fact, however, does not stand in the way of their identification with the values of socialism. The world outlook profile of young people is determined by the socialist reality, due to which they are objectively less marked by the ideopolitical and moral influences of the past. The Communist Party and the socialist state keep creating conditions for young people to be able optimally to link their studies and jobs with active participation in the life, management, and spiritual and cultural development of the society. That is why there is a regular increase in the number of young people who find sense, mission, and self-expression in the perspectives of socialism. We should not be completely without worries, however, knowing that our youth is not as much laden with the residues of the past. The state of carrying no load does not predispose young people to immunity against various alien and negative influences. Young people look intensively toward the future. Therefore, it is our social duty to elucidate to them truthfully the controversial complexities of the struggle which comprises the future, to bring them close to the history of the CPCZ and the cultural values created by socialism.

There is a document of extraordinary importance of acquainting youth with modern history, namely the "Lessons of the Crisis Development in the Party and Society After the 13th CPCZ Congress." This paper confirms explicitly that any deviation from scientific theory of Marxism-Leninism leads to serious social deformations. It is wrong that young people are being acquainted only sporadically with the analogical union document "Basic Questions of the Development of the Children's and Youth's Movement in Czechoslovakia." In the ideological preparation of young people we have to update the explanation of negative experiences with the rightwing opportunistic revision of Leninist principles of the socialist organization of youth. This revision became evident especially when the Marxist-Leninist world outlook was being replaced by the Declaration of Human Rights, when the relationship of the youth organization to the Communist Party was formulated and declared as partnership, when the principle of proletarian internationalism was rejected and pushed out by nationalism and anti-Sovietism, when the principle of ideological and political unity of the organization was being replaced by the axiom of political independence, and the class attitude was being exchange for abstract humanistic viewpoints.

The acquisition of the Marxist-Leninist world outlook is not a smooth process. The world-outlook structure of our people, despite profound positive changes which have occurred, still retains much of the religious attitude, spread mostly as a world outlook in the conditions of Slovakia. By age, the number of atheists and religious believers among young people 18-24 years of age is roughly equal (34 percent and 38 percent, respectively). Here the process of secularization is manifested on several levels, from religious indifference to scholarly atheism. There is a growing number of young people decisively characterized by atheistic thinking and willful rejection of religious ideas, forms and manifestations. Among single age groups, that of young people is the one most inclined toward the scientific world outlook. However, at the same time the majority of people without a definite world outlook belong to the 18-24-year-old group. Young people with indifferent attitudes toward religion and atheism are distinguished by their lack of knowledge regarding the essence and social character of religion, and by shallow comprehension of the

facts of scholarly atheism. An indifferent attitude toward religion is not identical with an atheistic conviction. Therefore, we have to aim our atheistic influence, sensitively and with rationale, toward this group of young people.

We strive to improve the ideological-theoretical level of scholarly atheistic education to elucidate, in an unobtrusive but impressive manner, the humanistic nature and emancipatory function of scholarly atheism for a young person. This education should participate in solving his or her social and personality problems, which involve the purpose of life, morals, interpersonal relationships; it should help create the socialist life style. A comprehensive contribution, offering issues and new topics to youth organizations in Slovakia, is the document entitled "Concept of Developing the Scholarly Atheistic Education as a part of the Socialist Youth Union's Ideological Work Among Children and Young People."

Individuals with antisocial inclinations and attitudes grow up even in the conditions of a socialist society. Young people in the 18-24-year-old group markedly participate in criminality. Their delinquency results from a complex of causes, such as breaking the principles of socialist morality and legal standards by adult population. The adults' proclivity toward double standards, hypocrisy, egoism, corruption, protectionism, their lack of discipline and respect for laws, as well as various bourgeois relics, evoke distrust in the values of socialism and spawn moral-legal nihilism. Joining the causes are the infiltrating influences of the Gypsy population, ideologically incompatible with socialism and backward in their cultural-social development.

The task of the Socialist Youth Union is to strengthen the moral resistance and character features of young people, to stand up against manifestations of egoism, lack of discipline, hooliganism, vandalism and other negative activities. We have to keep overcoming the barriers of happy-go-luckiness and self-indulgence, and be able to balance, but also vary, the proportions of applying mass and individualized ideological operations. The mass legal-educational activity is used for implanting in the consciousness of young people the idea that economic tools can be utilized only in harmony with the political and ethical aspects of socialist legality.

A revolutionary task of the present time is to make youth participate in an accelerated application of research and technical know-how in field performance. The socialist society is justified in expecting a productive, nonconventional way of thinking from young people. Based on the conclusions of the 15th Plenum of the CPCZ Central Committee, we make clear to young people that as a rule it is not easy, and not without problems, to introduce something new and progressive into life. When doing so, one often runs into obsolescent, conservative thinking, inertia and all kinds of prejudice. People from the section of ideological and political-educational work are obliged not only to explain, but also to stimulate youth by the idea of creativity, and by full-value utilization of its objective and subjective sources. That is why today in the foreground of ideological-political work with young people there are such concrete tasks as achieving harmony between social and personal as well as material and moral interests. There is the task of enhancing the sense of the new, the capability of organizing and managing work in a scholarly way, of

utilizing a team's potential, of managing the results of R&D-oriented thinking. Young people have to be taught implacability towards local patriotism, narrow-mindedness and greediness, they have to be prompted to raise their special qualifications, and some of them should be given universal preparation for leading positions. These tasks are being projected more and more intensely into the economic and mass-agitprop work of the Socialist Youth Union as well.

From the quantitative viewpoint, within the framework of the Socialist Youth Union there has been achieved a situation in which almost every organization utilizes one of the variable forms of graphic political agitation. Less satisfying is the qualitative aspect of the level of graphic political agitation. Many times it suffers from a low information value and insufficient communicativeness regarding the increasing spiritual needs of a young person. We have to achieve realistic, not stereotyped, graphic agitation and propaganda, without the graphic and textual cliches that evoke much criticism from young people.

Even after having realized the indisputable ideological-political contributions of political education, it would be wrong to overlook a series of its defects, both those being repeated routinely and the newly-formed ones. The common denominator of these defects is the lower adaptability of political education to changes brought about in the consciousness of young people by the universal growth of their erudition, culture and knowledge. Also, educators do not always manage to react promptly and with knowledge to outlook fuzziness and signs of political naivete of some young people. A way out of this situation is to make use of education as a natural method of getting acquainted with young people's opinions, interests and needs, and forming closer contact with the problems in their lives.

Being oriented toward a unilateral preference for lecture propaganda often leads to rigidity of the educational mechanism. A situation arises when the monologue form of teaching, even of highest quality, loses its otherwise irreplaceable effect if it is not counterbalanced by dialogue methods. This effect can be reached only by adequate utilization of activation factors in the propaganda process. They include optimal motivation of listeners, evoking interest in the study of political information, relevant selection of the content of political information, choice of access to problems, and ability to link theoretical findings with the present real life.

Scientific findings reveal explicitly that without the active participation of the object of propaganda it is impossible to achieve the desirable level in the knowledge of political realities and to formulate corresponding attitudes and convictions. Directing the propaganda process also assumes the activation of psychic processes and the creation of adequate psychic conditions. On the other hand, independent work has been and remains the principal teaching method. Even in political education there is no effectiveness without self-education.

When working with youth, the foreground is taken by questions of interdependent relations between socialist morals and scientific world outlook. It is no accident that the 15th Plenum of the CPCZ Central Committee emphasized that a

young person cannot stand moralizing. However, directing somebody to show regard for his parents, his job, to be considerate to the elderly, to respect basic standards of socialist coexistence, to acquire socialist morals, is not moralization but an inseparable and binding part of education. The conscious participation of young people in the development and strengthening of socialism, their resolve to defend the achievements and ideals of socialism may be considered a criterion of morals in this sense. In dialectic unity of the features of moral, ideological-political and working education we have to devote ourselves systematically to the questions of young people's moral education as well.

The basis for judging the effectiveness of ideological work is correct comprehension of interrelationships between ideology and economics. The Marxist-Leninist comprehension of the relationships between social being and social consciousness would be distorted by reducing the results of ideological work to purely material results. It is equally hopeless to search for a technical and material correlate to each idea that is being elucidated. The results of ideological work are manifested on two levels: in consciousness and in the actions of social groups and individuals. It is possible to separate these levels of effectiveness of ideological work only conditionally. We cannot give up searching for synthetic units of judging the effectiveness of ideological work, even when the function of their separate investigation is indisputable. Attitude can be considered to be one of these units, being a relatively permanent system of positive or negative opinions, emotional components and action trends. It is the active attitude toward life which represents a unity of the cognitive component, the emotional component and an inclination to action. Counterbalancing the ratio of the rational to the emotional is considered to be a great, but manageable, reserve of the effectiveness of the ideological-political and educational work of the Socialist Youth Union. Emotional operation helps to bring the propagated notions and ideas immanently close to a young person, in reality stimulating his or her actions.

As for the qualitative aspect of ideological operation, it is essential to realize that changes in attitude are most effective when an individual is able to acquire an attitude based on his own independent activities. The direction in which an attitude changes depends on previously formulated value systems, on a given background of attitudes, which becomes relatively independent of the later activity. New attitudes can be created first of all in those people whose opinions have not been strongly anchored in value systems. At the same time, this is one of the main reasons that prompts us to keep looking for possibilities of improving our ideological work with young people.

The effectiveness of the ideological and political-educational work of the Socialist Youth Union is enfeebled by phenomena of formalism, pragmatism and use of cliches. Formalist deformations are generated mainly in cases when equal forms are ascribed unequal contents, and when an inert content is absorbed by the implementation form, resulting in a conscious organization of ideological actions only for the "external" effect. Underestimation of theoretical and ideological activities, as well as unilateral placing of the operative act before conception, leads to pragmatism and cliché-ism. These harmful phenomena definitely have to be fought against.

Work in the ideological sphere is one of the most exacting activities. It assumes knowledge of philosophical, political and economic sciences, and an ability to apply social psychology to create favorable conditions for effective ideological and propaganda activity. It is a known fact that a human being is born as an individual, growing into a personality. To become a personality involves both the process of sociohistorical evolution and that of individual development. A man is a personality in the maximal measure when he is minimally neutral, inert, and maximally partisan to everything of social significance. The ideological section of the Socialist Youth Union participates in formulating a man of this kind--a personality.

9910

CSO: 2400/353

LEGAL ARGUMENTATION EMPHASIZING CONSTITUTION ADVOCATED

East Berlin STAAT UND RECHT in German Vol 33 No 6, Jun 84 (signed to press 25 Apr 84) pp 435-445

[Article by Prof Dr Eberhard Poppe, member of the political and legal science section of the Martin Luther University in Halle: "Reflections on Political Law as a Basic Branch of Law"]

[Text] I

Marxist-Leninist political and legal science unanimously characterizes political law as the basic branch of socialist law,¹ attributing the leading position to it,² the principal place³ in the legal system.⁴ The reason for so exposing political law lies in its importance of principle for the socialist social and political order, reflected by the subject matter it regulates; it regulates the social relations of special importance for the working class exercise of political, economic and ideological power.⁵ The primary cause then for characterizing political law as the basic leading branch of law is of a political nature, it being a fact that the implementation, development and safeguarding of the power of the workers class and its allies is the centerpiece of its regulations. "Power comes first and foremost. Without power, the workers class and its allies could not have converted the decisive means of production into public property and could not have created the foundations of socialism. For being able to fulfil the main task for the good of the whole people it also needs secure power."⁶ Not for voluntaristic or legally positivistic or pragmatic motives is political law the basic branch of law, but because of its political relevance, as the subject matter of its regulations are the basic issues in the exercise of political power. It logically follows from that that its norms, especially the constitutional norms, imply a mandatory conduct orientation for everyone, for all political action, legislation and jurisprudence and administrative activity, and that constitutional norms, as the basic rules for sharing in and securing political power, have priority over all other law, are privileged and can be amended only under hard conditions (e.g. Article 63, Paragraph 103, GDR Constitution).

It may be pointed out that it is better to call this basic branch of law political law rather than constitutional law, and that is what we find, by and large, in the literature.⁷ The premise there is that both terms denote the same regulatory matter. On that premise and because it is always insufficient

to reflect conceptually the variety of a complex social phenomenon, the term political law is more encompassing, whereas the term constitutional law, while explicitly referring to the chief source of that branch of law, sets a more constricting emphasis. In all socialist legal systems, together with the constitution, some basic laws (on elections, citizenship, defense, the national territory and national borders, the central and local organs) authoritatively make up the content of that legal branch. To describe political power relations cogently--which is the task of the basic branch of law--even Lenin called for a highly complex manner of looking at it. He found the essence of a constitution in "that the basic laws of a state as such and the laws regulating the election law for electing corporate bodies and for their competencies and so forth express the true power relationship in the class struggle."⁸ While the terminological duality of constitutional and political law may have reflected positions of different nuances in bourgeois law ideology--e.g. for national or historical reasons--⁹ under socialist conditions both terms are synonyms. Thus it is up to scientific consensus, idiomatic usage, habit, tradition and other factors to give preference to one of the terms that both denote the same subject matter while remaining tolerant about the other term, so as to avoid moot terminological controversy.

II

Being the basic branch of law, political law is relevant to all other legal branches. Constitutional norms have a guidance and lead function for all other law. They are authoritative for the content and procedure of legislation, jurisprudence and the administration of law. Before the presidium submits a draft bill to the People's Chamber plenum for final considerations and resolutions, it is carefully examined in terms of its constitutionality. The constitutional and legal commission¹⁰ and other commissions bear a great responsibility for it. The deputies on those commissions form their opinions through debates with those who brought in the bill and with experts in science and in the practical field, who are listened to there as authorities. When the People's Chamber then passes a law it thus implies that the highest political power organ has definitely ascertained its constitutionality.

Positive also is that relevant constitutional guidelines are often included in the basic laws of various legal branches as provisions of principle, whereby they receive an application and development in legal branch-specific terms. Examples are the Labor Code (Articles 1 to 8), the Civil Code (Articles 1 to 9), the Criminal Code (Articles 1 to 8), and the LPG Law (Articles 1 to 6), and others. Even if these provisions of principle do not always explicitly refer to the pertinent constitutional norms, they still ensure in their essence their branch-specific link with the sociopolitical principles and orientations that are legally binding in terms of the Constitution (the political law). In our legal science doctrine, that also is, among other things, adequately reflected and confirmed by that some textbooks emphasize the political law preference in rulings in the particular legal branch. E.g., the GDR Labor Code textbook says: "In labor law it is the case that political law regulations are the authoritative starting points that determine the contents. In particular, labor law takes up the following political or constitutional rules: The legal position of the citizens, vested in political law, is made more specific in the labor law in that the constitutionally guaranteed basic rights are further

specified (cf. Article 1 Paragraph 2, Labor Code). The working people's labor law position thus is determined, as far as their normative relations go, through their basic rights and basic duties in the field of labor." And further it is being said: "What political law and labor law have in common in substance is that they both regulate social labor relations, political law, however, 'under the aspect of principle of being integrated with the system of political power,' the labor law under the aspect of the performance of socially necessary labor in state-managed collectives."¹¹

The preference of constitutional norms is characteristic of the relationship between political law and other legal branches. Its evidence varies as to legal branch specifics. In administrative law it is so pronounced that this legal branch is considered "a direct extension of political law."¹² Even international law is valid within the state only as long as it does not contradict the Constitution and is ratified by the competent state organs in accordance with political law regulations¹³ and transformed into national law.¹⁴

When we emphasize the preference of national law, we do not mean to negate by that token the repercussions other legal branches have on political law.¹⁵ Above all, many constitutional norms are appropriately enriched by the legal branch-specific development and implementation of the social development and dynamics. The Constitution, as "the basic law of our society and state must express the new qualitative advances in the shaping of the developed socialist society in our country and, with it, take account of the GDR's inevitable forward march into its communist future,"¹⁶ so that its regulations maintain a validity and strength of orientation for a lengthy historic period. Legal branches must, with nuances and subtly, extend the basic assertions in the Constitution in response to concrete time requirements. The state's foreign economy and exchange monopoly is, to be sure, a precept of the Constitution (Article 9, Paragraph 5), but economic and finance law is what will deal with it in accordance with the requirements of the economic strategy for the 1980's. Furthermore, the constitutional rules on cooperatives and cooperative property (Article 46, 10, 13) are substantively enriched by the LPG Law of 1982.

While it could be stated positively that the leading position of political law is mainly reflected in the provisions of principle in important laws, the situation in the field of state decision-making activity is a more critical matter. Mainly the organs of the state apparatus are more reticent in basing their rulings explicitly on constitutional norms. Riege put it this way: "State decisions still reveal insufficiently that the Constitution directly triggers action or explains decisions. We obviously have to elucidate further the relation between the direct legal authority of the Constitution and so-called on-going legislation."¹⁷ The need to justify state decisions by constitutional rules may seldom be compelling, to be sure. The legal regulations found beneath the Constitution normally are a solid foundation for valid and fair decision-making and legal justification. Moreover, relevant constitutional rules often are inherent in these legal regulations--branch-specifically adapted, so that one can rule on the basis of specific legal regulations in full assurance of acting constitutionally. Besides, it is neither a task of the courts nor of the organs of the state apparatus to interpret constitutional provisions prejudicially, as it were. If a need for it arises, it is done by the People's Chamber through legislation or constitutional amendments. Any constitutional jurisdiction whatsoever is incompatible with the constitutionally vested principle of the unity

of state power and the position of the People's Chamber resulting from it as the supreme state power organ (Article 48) and the embodiment of the working people's sovereignty (Article 47).

If on those premises we are advocating justifying state decisions more explicitly by relevant constitutional rules, we are not doing so to account superficially for political law as the basic legal branch; for that, there are more compelling and persuasive motives. Most citizens, neither trained in law generally nor, specifically, in political law, are not likely to perceive the basic law of the socialist state by means of further law regulations. For it to contribute directly and effectively to deepening a homogeneous state and legal consciousness, it must make it more apparent to the citizens that the principles of the Constitution, its basic rights, freedoms and duties and other constitutional provisions form the mandatory criterion for individual decisions made by the state organs. Under that aspect Article 105 ("The Constitution is the law as it applies directly") amounts to saying that it is not prohibited but rather recommended to argue with reference to the Constitution and apply it as a political-ideological orientation document. Thereby we do not mean to advocate the sort of legal formalism that would want to base any future state decision on the Constitution or trace it back to it. What is necessary, however, is working more deliberately with the Constitution, that will make more transparent that the implementation of it and the respect for it is an overall social concern and that the citizens' constitutional rights and freedoms are permanently realized and protected by state decision-making activity.¹⁸ "The GDR Constitution is an important stimulator for increasingly more conscious and organized public activity. That it becomes all the more, the more extensively and deliberately it is being used in that sense."¹⁹

Finally, the Constitution also must be used when new social developments and phenomena have not yet been regulated specifically. It is the last word on interpretations, proper as to legal policy, when competing or contradictory interpretations of legal regulations are proposed.

III

Accounting for political law as the basic branch of law compels us also to look at some questions and tasks in the science of political law. That also calls for some substantive-terminological clarification. The question arises about the relation of the science of political law which "explores the inevitabilities that determine the relations and processes to be dealt with by means of political law, the relation between the management and protection of the public order, the management system for the social reproduction process, the position of the subjects of political law relations, the methodology, methods and history of this science field,"²⁰ and the constitutional theory.²¹ While the terms political and constitutional law were held to be synonymous, there are more nuances in the relation between the science of political law and constitutional theory. Constitutional theory is concerned with the most important source of political law, which essentially causes its being characterized as the basic branch of law. It finds its task in exploring the social inevitabilities in the genesis, working, change and decline of constitutions and the sociopolitical constellation of interests behind their regulations.²² That also is a task of the science of political law--if by no means its only one. Deriving this task so emphasized as

constitutional theory is justified by the sociopolitical significance of constitutions. This then also reminds our political scientists to use in their scholarship at a deeper theoretical and richer material level the fund of Marxist-Leninist political and legal theory or history. Of course, this and other social science disciplines can also resort to constitutional theory as part of their fields because much more prominently than other legal documents are constitutions in their historic, political-legal and programmatic relevance subject of various branch sciences--not only the legal ones--which then in addition also bring their methods and insights to bear on constitutional theory. As far as its basic scientific concern goes, however, constitutional theory is part of the basic theoretical substance of political and legal theory, being part of political and legal theory or history (mainly as general constitutional theory) as well as of the science of political law (mainly as special constitutional theory of certain national, regional or epochal constitutional events). The place constitutional theory holds in our sciences system surely has to be illuminated further. That can help more clearly articulate the special responsibility of the science of political law within political and legal science.

This is a great political responsibility. It is due to the specifics of the basic branch of law and, hence, to the obligation to work through science insights for the development and protection of socialist power and democracy. Political science research and instruction are of great consequence because many of their statements are socially so all-inclusive. So when it works matters out and accounts for them it must observe the closest correlation with the leadership activity of the Marxist-Leninist working class party and with the practical political organization of developed socialist society. The orientation W. Stoph, chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers, has given applies in full to the science of political law: "It is mainly a matter of deriving science data that are theoretically sound and constructive and serve political and legal practice, as the political-ideological education and the aggressive ideological struggle. They must be predictive and future-oriented. They must be aimed at constantly enhancing the political, economic, social and intellectual-cultural effectiveness of the socialist state and its organs in line with the requirements of our social order."²³

Considerable work in research, instruction and practical achievements has come from the relatively small number of scientists in the field of political law (including the new generation of scientists, there are fewer than 100) especially since the Eighth SED Congress. In this period, the first textbooks on political law were published in the GDR, and we got remarkable monographs on socialist democracy, state management, citizenship, basic and human rights, and the activity of local organs and their deputies.

Political scientists were involved in preparing important draft laws or in making available to the GDR the ideas of the Soviet Union and other fraternal states. A positive quantitative balance-sheet, which however calls for more critical judgment in qualitative respects. Though they did spark considerable resonance among friend and foe in part, none of these studies has been found praiseworthy on the national scale. While being positive in tendency, this balance-sheet should not blind us to the fact that there are still gaps in our political science and that our science lead is still confined to some points

only or still only in prospect. Also for political law research must apply as a yardstick what K. Hager, at the social science conference in December 1983, outlined as our objective: "We find the central theme of social science research in still more accurately exploring the objective inevitabilities in social development, disclosing the dynamics of their effects under current and future conditions, and elaborating the suitable forms, mechanisms and institutions for enforcing and using these inevitabilities. The main thing is to bring to full account the advantages and impulses of socialism and firmly root them in the consciousness of the broadest masses."²⁴

I do not feel competent enough to offer a proper presentation of what has been achieved and what is needed in the scientific work of political law. That has to be done through collective analysis. Yet there are some inferences that can be drawn for the further efforts in the science of political law from excerpted guidelines offered by W. Stoph and K. Hager---with all their subjective limitations:

--The debate of constitutional issues, resumed after a long delay, undoubtedly must be carried on, as much as possible through interdisciplinary efforts. The aim must be further to deepen the identification process of the democratic public with the basic law of the socialist state, and the tasks of the science of political law in the phase of the developed socialist society have to be worked out in their practical orientation, so that we get something better than just shop-talk among political and legal scientists. In this context we should remind ourselves that in 1969 the GDR was one of the first socialist states in which a constitutional commentary was published and that we are looking forward to the 20th anniversary of the first socialist German Constitution during the next five-year plan. The decision to work out and conceptualize another constitutional commentary, informed with the orientations from the SED congresses since 1971 and from the party program, and based on our cohesive codification of political law, should have to be correlated with the competent organs. The science of political law can come up with good reasons why such a commentary would have a broad consciousness-forming effect oriented to practice.

--Through a complex examination of the political organization of the developed socialist society and the elaboration of the political and legal history of the GDR it is becoming increasingly evident that the genesis and development of most political law institutions during the class struggle are given, at best, cursory attention in the textbooks. What we still have to come up with, however, are deeper and more systematic accounts of the history and the current activities of the People's Chamber, the State Council, the Council of Ministers, the state structure and the political-territorial structure of the GDR, and of the National Front and the Democratic Bloc. Here again the job cannot be, perhaps for reasons of prestige or the desire for completeness, to prepare some monographs on the highest state organs. Rather, through the example of exposed political law institutions and their history and presence, and in comparison with the fraternal socialist states and in confrontation with the class enemy, the evidence is to be provided for that the socialist state of the GDR, through its law, represents the people's vital interests, implements its ideals and values, and embodies through all the democratic effects of its efforts the sovereignty of the people. Inseparable from that is the question what the position of the science of political law is on the tradition and our legacy, on continuity and discontinuity, and whether it can process the dialectic of social development in such a way that it will give incentives for its further development.

These were just a few examples pointing to tasks, principally from the vantage point of GDR political law, that must also be resolved, partly on different premises, in the other political law disciplines to ensure proper studies (e.g., of the political law of young national states). In view of the limited research volume for setting priorities, deliberately and through collective consent, this then becomes a task for the research management organs. This also ties in with the desire that the practical field may at times accentuate more clearly still the expectations it has of the science of political law,²⁵ which is something other law disciplines have already done more substantially. Certifications (diplomas, promotions) cannot normally be oriented to results meeting all demands of the central social science research plan, but they can open up more effectively than thus far a task-oriented research capacity for solving partial problems or for exploratory or prognostic projects, e.g. within the framework of medium or long-range legislative projects.²⁶ That then already brings up questions of methodology in political law research. And guidelines for that can also be found in the concluding remarks by K. Hager at the social science conference.²⁷

From my subjective point of view and experience, I like to refer to three aspects in the science of political law:

First, an urgent requirement lies in more intensively absorbing the knowledge of philosophy, history, economics and sociology about the nature and development of the developed socialist society to broaden the horizon of theoretical thinking. A political law scientists can get that also out of political and legal theory, to be sure, but delay and redundancy are inevitable then. A study on the further development of the socialist basic rights, e.g., must absorb the latest philosophical data on personality development as much as the economic and sociological effects of the scientific-technical revolution.

Second, the science of political law has to be more finely tuned to practical needs. The result must be neither a description, free of any contradiction, of a generalized practice leading to vague remarks nor a merely critical consternation at practical events lagging behind social requirements in many points. We need research results that offer solutions and more variables for solutions of problems and contradictions. "The social scientists must be thoroughly familiar with men's ordinary life and ordinary consciousness and study still more thoroughly what happens in the enterprise, the community, the school, and the performances worthy of promotion and the handles for development. Tapping the wealth of social practice is the prerequisite and basis for the further development of our theory--a theory that can throw light on the practical steps on our way."²⁸

Third, we have to conduct a broader scientific debate. Jurist, surely, are notoriously combative, but that often remains confined to their internal circle--e.g. an authors' collective. The public, however, often is interested not only in the solution that was found but would also like to replicate the way the solution was found to be able to judge whether the pro and con of various possibilities were checked out. The scientific knowledge of political law has immediate effects on the shaping of power and democracy and, hence, on the manner in which many people shape their lives. That calls for a high sense of responsibility and mature thought when it comes out with what it has to say.

Yet the problem of the science of political law right now is not that one should have to criticize it for being too venturesome in its anticipations, too hypothetical or too much aimed at the far distant future; one should rather have to criticize that its thinking is too linear in invoking continuity while having but inadequately conceived the higher quality that a development in continuity must lead to. There hardly is any debate about the contours in anticipating the future, e.g. for socialist democracy and the forms in which it will be realized by the end of the century, but there is a debate about subtle particulars. That is a debate among specialists which does not affect the public and the practical field enough, whereby it greatly delays and diminishes the corrective function that should come from there with respect to scientific errors.

We have already pointed out as positive the publication of textbooks. Through revisions and new editions approximately every 10 years, the textbooks should become collective scientific standard reference works for any given discipline. For teaching purposes and survey information less copious and expensive outlines at a better didactic quality and in revised editions that hold from 2 to 3 years would do the trick.

IV

The relation between political and legal theory and political law and political legal science may be seen as a relation between the general and the particular as well as in many other ways.²⁹ For all that, the web of relations, no doubt, is especially tight and rich in structures. The state and law of the GDR are a subject of political and legal theory, but not exclusively; yet many publications indicate that to many a political and legal theoretician in the GDR they are virtually the only field of experience and familiarity. This is a broad and rich field. We must not engage in any kind of jealous demarkation between political and legal theoreticians and political law scientists. Much more urgent is a stronger political and legal theoretical foundation for political law research to mitigate the deficit in theoretical approaches and anticipatory thought. Expectations here are aimed at a general theory of state and law (it being at best a warning to political law scientists, against having too high expectations, but of no help when state theory is at times found to lag behind instead of the law theoreticians exercising their joint responsibility). Expectations of the science of political law mainly lie on the following levels:

--The developmental laws of state and law and their social effects in the developed socialist society have to be defined more clearly and with a more pronounced sense of the future. This theory has a "pioneering" obligation to the branch disciplines. (Political theory discussions of the political organization can be helpful there, as long as state and law do not lose their uniqueness through presenting the network of the myriad democratic relations.)

--Advances in scientific knowledge, especially in the social sciences, with their impact on the development of the state, law and democracy in the developed socialist society must primarily be approached from political and legal theory and be conveyed to the legal branch disciplines. To be able to prognosticate the future development of the system of state organs, the political-territorial structure, the communities and community associations, and the part-time political

activity, our political law scientists have to come out with more comprehensive empirical and sociological surveys of their own. What they need for it, however, are theoretical statements of principle, e.g. on the current interrelationship with the scientific-technical revolution, on socialist statehood and democracy, and on the tendencies and trends in that correlation.

--The scientific communicability must be ensured by elaborating and extending the concepts, definitions, institutions, principles and structures generally acknowledged in Marxist-Leninist political and legal science while also processing into it the sound research results of the branch sciences.

These and other expectations placed on the principally guideline and homogenizing function of political and legal theory--a function it seeks to fulfil as best it can--releases neither political law nor other legal branch sciences from their responsibility to enrich the fund of political and legal theory by generalizable research results. That also is a way for researchers (and research collectives) and for college teachers to gain a scientific profile of their own that breaks through the "domestic" framework of their branch discipline and endows them with an interdisciplinary cooperation capability. The development of the "science of jurisprudence,"³⁰ as political and legal theory is at times called, a bit euphemistically, is not claimed as an exclusive privilege by those working in that discipline, but is a responsibility of all political and legal scientists.

FOOTNOTES

1. Cf. inter alia, the following textbooks: "Marxistisch-leninistische Staats- und Rechtstheorie," Berlin, 1980, p 551; "Staatsrecht der DDR," Berlin, 1978, pp 20 ff; "Staatsrecht der UdSSR," Berlin, 1982, pp 12 ff, especially p 21.
2. Cf. inter alia, "Staatsrecht der UdSSR," op. cit., p 21; "Marxistisch-leninistische allgemeine Theorie des Staates und des Rechts," Vol 4, Berlin, 1976, p 213.
3. Cf. "Staatsrecht der UdSSR," op. cit., p 21.
4. Even if not equally unequivocally, Marxist-Leninist political and legal science has also proven for the political law in bourgeois states under the conditions of state monopoly capitalism, tendentially, the function of the basic branch of imperialist law (cf. textbook "Staatsrecht buergerlicher Staaten," Berlin, 1980, pp 16 ff). The separation between public and private right inherent in capitalist "free competition" is becoming increasingly fictitious. In spite of that, its ideological disguise function is being maintained, the private interest sphere being largely kept from interference by the state. For all that, this has hardly applied to the need by the exploited for individual development and protection. How fictitious that separation is can today be seen by that the public right just as much "legalizes" the state's massive regulatory interference in the economic and interest sphere, even within the ruling class, e.g. by customs protection, embargo and subsidy precepts, as it does the nuclear arms buildup and the missile deployment. Then the purportedly independent private right merely has the function of aiding the state's political performance.
5. Cf. "Marxistisch-leninistische Staats- und Rechtstheorie," op. cit., p 551.

6. Comrade Erich Honecker, "Bericht des Zentralkomitees der Sozialistischen Einheitspartei Deutschlands an den IX. Parteitag der SED" [SED Central Committee Report to the Ninth SED Congress], Berlin, 1976, p 110.
7. Cf. also "Staatsrecht der DDR," op. cit., pp 18 f.
8. V. I. Lenin, "Werke" [Works], Vol 15, Berlin, 1974, p 334.
9. Reference to it in "Marxistisch-leninistische allgemeine Theorie des Staates und des Rechts," Vol 2, Berlin, 1974, pp 275 f.
10. Cf. also W. Weichert, "On the Interrelationship Between Legal Science and Political Practice in the Legislative Process--Experiences of the Constitutional and Law Commission of the GDR People's Chamber," STAAT UND RECHT, 1982, pp 117-120.
11. Cf. the following textbooks: "Arbeitsrecht," Berlin, 1983, pp 43 f; "Verwaltungsrecht," Berlin, 1979, pp 44 f; "LPG-Recht," Berlin, 1976, p 55; "Bodenrecht," Berlin, 1976, p 104; "Zivilrecht," Part I, Berlin, 1981, p 40; and "Strafrecht--Allgemeiner Teil," Berlin, 1976, pp 19, 70, 82.
12. Cf. "Staatsrecht der DDR," op. cit., p 25; and "Verwaltungsrecht," op. cit.
13. Cf. GDR Constitution, Articles 66 and 76; "Law on the GDR Council of Ministers of 16 October 1972, GBL (legal gazette), Part I, p 253, Article 5; "Decree on the Statute for the Foreign Affairs Ministry of 18 February 1970," GBL Part II, p 173.
14. Cf. "Resolution on the Tasks of the GDR State Council in Ratifying and Cancelling International Law Treaties of the GDR, of 22 March 1976," GBL Part I p 181; "Voelkerrecht, Grundriss" [International Law, Outline], Berlin, 1983, pp 35 f and 87.
15. It is most apt to speak of an "interrelationship" between political and administrative law (cf. "Marxistisch-leninistische allgemeine Theorie . . .," Vol 4, op. cit., p 213).
16. Cf. E. Honecker, "Explaining the Amendment Bill for the GDR Constitution," NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, 28 September 1974, p 1.
17. G. Riege, "Constitutional Problems in Developed Socialism," STAAT UND RECHT, 1983, p 776.
18. Cf. E. Poppe, "The Political-Juridical Character of the GDR Constitution," STAAT UND RECHT, 1982, p 298.
19. "Karl Marx' Doctrine of State and Its Relevance in the GDR (Theses)," Staat und Recht, 1983, p 93.
20. Cf. "Staatsrecht der DDR . . .," op. cit., p 42.

21. That term is used, e.g., by W. Weichert, "The Marxist Principles for a Scientific Constitutional Theory," "Karl Marx und die politische Theorie der Gegenwart," Berlin, 1983, pp 135 ff; H. Klenner, "Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels Against Lasalle's Constitutional Theory and Reality Policy," STAAT UND RECHT, 1953, pp 233 ff; G. Riege refers to "theoretical constitutional thought" ("Constitutional Problems . . . ,", op. cit., p 771). "Staatsrecht der DDR . . ." refers to the "Marxist-Leninist constitutional doctrine" (op. cit., p 32) and so does K.-H. Schoeneburg ("The Constitution and Dialectic of Social Development," STAAT UND RECHT, 1978, p 2).
22. With reference to Engels and Lenin, K.-H. Schoeneburg writes: "Constitutional questions are power questions. They principally reflect social power relations which ultimately result from the material living conditions of the social classes. This initial thesis in the Marxist-Leninist constitutional doctrine thus emphasizes the social conditioning of constitutions. They have a basis of evolving, developing and declining that must be found outside of the constitution itself" (op. cit., p 2).
23. W. Stoph, "Die sozialistische Staatsmacht--schoepferische Verwirklichung der Lehre ueber den Staat von Karl Marx" [Socialist State Power--Creative Implementation of Karl Marx' State Doctrine], Berlin, 1983, p 46.
24. K. Hager, "Gesetzmaessigkeiten unserer Epoche--Triebkraefte und Werte des Sozialismus" [Inevitabilities of Our Era--Driving Forces and Values of Socialism], Berlin, 1983, p 73.
25. Valuable thought impulses are contained in K. Sorgenicht, "Unser Staat in den achtziger Jahren" [Our State in the 1980's], Berlin, 1982.
26. Cf. S. Supranowitz, "Long-range Planning in Jurisprudence," NEUE JUSTIZ, 1981, pp 98 ff.
27. Cf. G. Schirmer, "On the Results of the Social Science Conference," EINHEIT, 1984, especially pp 21 ff.
28. Ibid.
29. Cf. "Marxistisch-leninistische allgemeine Theorie . . . ,", Vol I, op. cit. pp 53 ff.
30. Cf. P. J. Nedbailo, "Einfuehrung in die allgemeine Theorie des Staats und des Rechts" [Introduction to the General Theory of State and Law], Berlin, 1972, pp 44 ff.

5885

CSO: 2300/566

NEW DEFENSE ROLE OF AEROKLUB DISCUSSED

Remarks by Tuczapski

Warsaw SKRZYDLATA POLSKA in Polish No 3, 15 Jan 84 pp 3, 4

[Pronouncement by the Secretary of the Committee of National Defense, Chief Inspector of Territorial Defense, Deputy Minister of National Defense, General of Arms Tadeusz Tuczapski, at the 12th National Congress of the Aeroklub of the PRL (on 10 December 1983): "The Aeroklub of the PRL Has a Certain Role to Perform in the State Defense System"]

[Text] Honorable Delegates! Dear Guests!

It is with considerable satisfaction that I participate in this consecutive Congress of the Aeroklub of the PRL. This is already the 12th Congress in the history of your organization, summing up one of the most difficult stages in its over 60 years of activity, so important for Polish civil, sport and military aviation. In a certain sense this Congress marks a turning point, because it undertakes the effort of changing the profile of the Aeroklub as an association of higher social use into a paramilitary organization, for which defense-sport activity and participation in the preparation of the cadres for the needs of Polish aviation will be of particular importance. The preamble to the statute discussed and prepared today, and its further parts, particularly chapter two, speak about this.

Precisely this substance-organizational profile of the Aeroklub, in which the problems of defense and sport come to the first plan, results from its social role, from the character of its daily activity, from its rich, longstanding tradition and finally--or rather, above all--from the need to assure the proper realization of the Sejm law on the general defense of the PRL by all state organizations and institutions. These intentions lie also at the basis of the decision of the highest state organs to transfer the sponsorship and supervision of the Aeroklub to the Ministry of National Defense. Anyhow, the initiative for undertaking such decision was born in your milieu and came out of your ranks.

Greeting all the Aeroklub members in the sphere of influence of the Ministry of National Defense, I want to wish the Congress participants on behalf of the Ministry of National Defense and above all on behalf of the Minister of National Defense, Gen of Arms Florian Siwicki, fruitful and creative deliberations, and members and organizational rungs of the Aeroklub a successful realization of the statutory obligations and of the program worked out today for the nearest future.

I am convinced that the problems of patriotic and internationalist education of the young generation of Poles, those associated in the Aeroklub and those remaining within the sphere of its influence, will continue to be of an appropriately high rank. After all, the great zeal and high organizational vitality of your association's aktiv, the social dedication of its members and their ability to identify with the drives and goals of the organization to which they belong, as demonstrated many a time, all attest to that.

Many of them have made the name of their socialist motherland famous on the international arena and brought glory to sport of Polish aviation. Their attitudes and successes in sport, particularly those achieved during the most difficult period for our country, were a wonderful answer to hostile Western propaganda which tried to discredit our abilities and successes, prove our weakness and helplessness and impute a lack of a proper organization to the social life, and moral decay, to our organization.

Today, when our nation's patriotic forces are closing ranks in order to overcome the crisis, when a decisive majority of society under the leadership of the PZPR and with an active involvement of the Patriotic Movement of National Rebirth, effectively, although with a considerable effort, is lifting up our economy, creating foundations for a better existence, stabilizing social life and strengthening the state's defenses--this great national battle cannot lack Aeroklub members. The links of this organization can and ought to fulfill appropriately their role in the process of renewal that encompasses all of society, and above all in:

--the realization of the all-national program outlined by the Ninth Extraordinary Congress of our party, the Sejm of the PRL, and the government of our socialist state;

--the participation in creating a society-wide patriotic-defensive and ideological-political front for educating the young generation;

--improving the functioning of the democratic structure of social life;

--strengthening the principles of rational and economic management of the considerable amount of equipment, materials and funds owned by the Aeroklub;

--improving the system and increasing the effects of various forms of defense, professional and sport training.

I believe that these problems will continue to find their proper reflection in the daily, statutory and organizational activity of all the rungs of the Aeroklub, and the effects of their realization will be increasingly improving and becoming more measurable. This ought to be accompanied by precise, daily, properly programmed and realized according to plan, participation with the units and staffs of the Polish People's Army, particularly the Air Force, the OPK [National Air Defense], the air-landing division, the organs and forces of civil defense, the Ministry of Education and Upbringing, the Ministry of Transportation, and numerous social organizations. I am thinking here of the National Defense League, Polish Union of Shortwave Radio Operators, Union of Polish Scouts, and all other youth organizations, including the Union of Career Soldiers and Officer Reserve Clubs, particularly those of their rungs which assemble the former professional cadre of the Air Force and the OPK, or their reserves. Close cooperation with these organizations can bring invaluable benefits in the organizational and substantive spheres and in training activity; in the sphere of patriotic-defense education, preparation of the young people for the military service, recruitment of candidates to military aviation schools and parachute troops, and in the strengthening of the bond between the army and society, as well as in the process of training pilots and parachutists for the needs of the army and national economy.

The leadership of the department of national defense is convinced that your organization, which includes tens of thousands of members, has an experienced and dedicated aktiv and large numbers of first class specialists, and which offers youth such attractive and sometimes even exclusive interests and forms of activity, will honorably fulfill the hopes placed in it and the tasks set before it. We believe that, without sacrificing activity in sports aviation, and increasing the results obtained in this domain, you will be able to intensify patriotic-defense education activity and elevate to a still higher level the results of your action on behalf of national defense. Of particular concern here is an appropriate matching of possibilities and needs, through the participation of the Aeroklub in the preparation of aviation cadres and parachutists for the needs of the armed forces and services on behalf of civil defense. This is required by the reality of the contemporary world, your current status as a paramilitary organization, and the constitutional duty of maintaining a continuous readiness to defend socialism and the socialist state.

The class struggle has not yet ceased and on the global scale it has even expanded. American imperialism strives at all costs to change the system of forces in the world and to aggravate the international situation. The present Washington administration and the reactionary circles of NATO are undertaking a dangerous game to gain strategic supremacy and tip the global and local balance of forces to their advantage. These are insane and incalculable plans.

Taking into consideration the fact that the actual difference between a conventional war and a nuclear war is already blurred today, it must be born in mind that every armed conflict in any part of the world can too easily turn into a nuclear catastrophe. For our continent, as for the whole world, this kind of war is equivalent perhaps to the vision of a biological and ecolog-

gical extermination. This can mean an annihilation of the achievements of civilization of many generations.

Particularly dangerous for the current and future development of the world's political-strategic situation is the arms race, imposed upon the countries of the socialist community. Within the framework of this arms race the United States devotes enormous sums on further miniaturization of weapons, on increasing the accuracy and range of nuclear weapons, and on the construction of new types of warheads, chemical missiles, neutron charges and binary arms, among other things.

There are plans to equip the armed forces of NATO states with new, technologically complex anti-rocket and laser arms systems of great power, designed to be installed on earth and in space. Concrete plans are also being made to use satellite civil communications for military purposes and in general to transfer military operations into space.

The recent increase by 3 percent of the NATO states' budget for military purposes, the decision to build strategic B-1 bombers and MX intercontinental ballistic rockets, installment in West European countries of American maneuvering Cruise missiles and multihead Pershing II rockets, aimed at the Soviet Union, Poland and other countries of the socialist community, and the failure of Geneva disarmament talks, increase even more the sense of the threat of war.

In order to realize the possible destruction in the event of using modern nuclear means it can be said that the warhead of the already obsolete Pershing I has a 20 times greater power than the bombs dropped on Hiroshima and Nagasaki and the newer version of this rocket, Pershing II, has several such warheads, of considerably greater weight and size.

According to the calculations of a Swedish strategic research institute, a local nuclear war in Europe already in the preliminary stage can cause the death of 20 million Germans, 10 million Czechs, Slovaks and Hungarians, and 10 million Poles. It can additionally be said about these rather macabre data that they were collected before the decision to install 572 American rockets and Eurostrategic missiles in western Europe.

Apart from the use of the military threat to achieve its goals, imperialism also has great hopes in the use of various forms of broadly designed political and ideological subversion. Therefore it develops spying, subversion and disinformation activities in various forms. It has also been applying economic blackmail to socialist countries, which we have had the occasion to experience directly and continue to experience. At the same time it sometimes uses an almost brutal intervention in the internal affairs of other countries and supports dissident forces active within those countries. It encourages and activates revisionist and retaliatory forces in the FRG.

These are the realia of the contemporary world and we must draw appropriate conclusions to be applied in our daily life and organizational activity, particularly in those spheres which concern the strengthening of all forms of national defense. We must also remember that in our state's defense system,

the Aeroklub of the PRL has a definite role to fulfill. I believe that it will fulfill this role according to social expectations.

The reports period being summed up and evaluated today has contributed in a considerable degree to the consolidation of the Aeroklub's professional apparatus and social aktiv. It has taught the separate links of this organization to work in difficult and complex situations. It has pointed out the great role played in the statutory activity of the association by the ideological-educational and patriotic-defense education of its members, particularly youth. The experiences gained must not be lost and the practical conclusions resulting from them must be properly applied in future activity.

Precisely thanks to the fact that the Aeroklub's aktiv has been able to apply the acquired experience effectively in practical, present action, it has been possible to restore rather efficiently the proper rhythm of organizational work and correlate appropriately the statutory activity with the realization of the resolutions of the Ninth Extraordinary Congress of the PZPR, to assure the participation of the members and particular rungs of the association in the realization of government programs, and define its place in the society-wide work of national rebirth.

This has also been helped by smooth cooperation with other social organizations, both inside and outside the country. I believe that this cooperation will continue to consolidate. It has been an important contribution to the creation of a uniform patriotic front and the internationalist education of youth, it has served to strengthen the bond between our army and society, and contributed to the enrichment of international cooperation and the tightening of the friendship and fraternity of arms between the Polish People's Army, The Soviet Army and the armed forces of socialist countries joined in the defense Alliance--The Warsaw Pact.

I express once more thanks to the Ministry of National Defense for the present achievements and wish further prosperous actions, particularly a speedy and effective overcoming of all those difficulties and shortcomings which became more or less clear during the reports campaign. I am convinced that they will not have a bearing on the content and form of further organizational and training-educational activity of the Aeroklub of the PRL.

Remarks by Hermaszewski

Warsaw SKRZYDLATA POLSKA in Polish No 3, 15 Jan 84 pp 4, 5

[Below we are publishing selected fragments of the pronouncement by the Chairman of the Aeroklub at the 12th National Congress of the Aeroklub on 10 December 1983 in Warsaw. The editors are responsible for the abridgements and the title. (Editors): "A New Stage"]

[Text] Despite the fact that during the period between the congresses, the Aeroklub struggled with difficulties resulting from a permanent shortage of financial and material means, particularly the equipment for basic training, flying fuel, and investment and wage funds, it was not a period of stagnation

or regression to the extent it was in other areas of social and economic life in our country. In some areas of our statutory activity visible progress has been made. The number of organizational units of the association has not decreased either, although the number of members declined in the following way: ordinary members--0.9 percent, associated members--26 percent; the number of pattern shops has declined by 6 percent, and by the same token, the number of flying circles.

On the other hand, we have better indices in aviation training for the reports period than for the previous years. If, however, the effectiveness of aviation training is to be measured by the fulfillment of tasks on behalf of the Armed Forces, national economy and sport, these results are not so uniformly positive. In gliding, despite an increased number of basically trained pilots and record general flying time, we have obtained negligible final results. Neither have we had substantial sport achievements. In sport training, the effectiveness of expanded general flying was shown in the execution of bigger tasks within the range of the LPW II [Pre-Military Air Training], on behalf of the economy, other kinds of aviation, and the club's own needs, including sport. In this domain we can note a stable, methodical improvement in systematic quality and quantity, despite various perturbations and difficulties. Nevertheless, in this sphere of our activity there is still much to be desired. We have not trained acrobat pilots. In the nearest future, however, we want to return to our good traditions in this discipline. In parachute training, tasks for the WPD have been successfully realized. The number of basically trained parachutists has increased by 30 percent and the number of trainees by the average of 30 percent. The quality of parachutists and their sport results, however, are not very satisfactory. Paragliding and ballooning, still rare in our country, are developing satisfactorily, although not always on sound foundations. This very general review of the basic areas of the Aeroklub's activity irresistibly suggests the conclusion that and increase in the number of such traditional indices as the number of flying hours, executed jumps or basically trained pilots and parachutists is not sufficient to decide the full execution by the association of the statutory tasks and the purposefulness and effectiveness of our activity. Let us say frankly, we are still using too much of the proverbial steam for whistling. Of concern here are enormous funds from the state budget which we do not always use according to the state's current interest. In many cases, as a result of a superficial or even irresponsible qualifying of candidates for training and aviation activity in regional aeroclubs, we are cheerfully sponsoring for large numbers of youth attractive, one-time and costly vacations. For members paying only symbolic dues and not showing any sport inclinations or involvement in social activism on behalf of the Aeroklub, we provide expensive flying recreation at the cost of the state. This is a totally unjustified wastefulness which cannot be tolerated in the future.

The safety of our work, flying and parachute jumps is an extremely important aspect of our activity, which often defines the level of our culture and our attitude toward the equipment. This aspect has undergone improvement but we are still far from reaching a decent level.

The equipment situation of the Aeroklub continues to be difficult, despite recent considerable help from the Ministry of National Defense. The domestic aviation industry did not pamper us with supplies of necessary aviation equipment, nor did it undertake developmental work with regard to the equipment needs of the Aeroklub in an appropriate variety. I am talking about mainly inexpensive, strong and simple to use equipment for the selection and basic gliding and flying training. Recently our hopes have been raised by the designs for the 2-seated glider Puchatek and airplanes Orlik and Iskierka to be used in basic training. Things are made worse by the bottleneck in our technical base concerning the repair of gliders. About 200 Bocian and Pirat gliders, so necessary for us today, are waiting for repairs. Thus we must immediately look for remedial measures and try to solve this problem with the participation of the aeroklub repair potential unused in the inter-season period. The matter requires only some organizational efforts and legal regulation, because there are appropriate specialists and repair forces in particular regional aeroclubs, but throughout the winter they are simply dozing off inactively. Over the last few years we have noted a considerable fluctuation of the technical personnel and a systematic lowering of its professional level, because experienced personnel goes where the pay is better. This situation and a lack of proper pay ability requires that every professional pilot be his own mechanic with regard to the current service of the air vessel on which he flies. We must therefore begin to train pilots in this regard and issue appropriate licences. We see no other solution. An appropriate order has already been issued to regional units in this regard.

Due to a lack of funds and workmanship, a considerable decapitalization of facilities and airports has taken place in the past few years. The situation is particularly bad in Krosno. Warsaw Aeroklub, lacking its own airport, remains in an exceptionally difficult situation. The saddest part of it is that there are no prospects for improving the situation and the management of the Aeroklub has already exhausted all of its possibilities in this regard. Many airports also have serious shortages in cubic capacity and infrastructure, particularly in maintenance and conservation of surfaces, buildings, and heating and electric facilities.

Our country has been well served by the sport activity of the Aeroklub. Thanks to that, our association has established a high position in the International Air Federation. This was taken into consideration in granting the Aeroklub the rights of model-making organizations (twice) and the helicopter world championships. High level and well publicized events and propaganda of aviation in the press, radio and television, have widely popularized aviation, the sport of flying, and the Aeroklub among youth. The consecutive celebrations of such anniversaries as 35 years of People's Poland, the 35 and 40-year anniversaries of the LWP [Polish People's Army] and the 60-year anniversary of the Aeroklub, in which we took an active part, giving evidence of patriotic attitudes and the will to continue the beautiful and progressive traditions of Polish aviation, have further contributed to this popularity. I am convinced the the Aeroklub will celebrate with the same dignity and successes the 40-year anniversary of People's Poland, occurring in 1984. In the patriotic, defense and politechnic education of youth, the following organizations have closely cooperated with the Aeroklub: institutions of the department of education and upbringing, the ZHP, the

housing cooperative movement organized in the CZSBM [Central Management of Housing Construction Cooperatives], the ZSMP [Union of Socialist Polish Youth] and the sponsoring units of military aviation.

The Aeroklub, as an association of higher service, has at its disposal an enormous social wealth handed to us by the people's state. The state also determines our goals and tasks to be realized, according to the assumptions of its social and defense policy. It is our duty to do everything to use this wealth and funds received from the state according to their purpose and social interest. It would be a mistake to assume that we ourselves can determine our purposes and tasks. I am stressing this because apparently not everywhere these principles and criteria have been applied. In our regional aeroclubs dodgers, slyboots and schemers have turned up, sometimes even openly manifesting their hostile antisocialist and antistate attitudes. By their acts of treason they bring dishonor upon our association. On the other hand, there are not that many authentic representatives of the working class, even in aeroclubs which call themselves "workers". Thus there is clearly a lack of a class oriented, socially justified approach in qualifying for training and in giving access to the costly flying activity in many of our regional aeroclubs. Active realization of the statutory goals of the Aeroklub is the principle of membership in the association. On the other hand, there still occur cases of requesting services from the association for the realization of personal goals or satisfying socially unjust ambitions, on the basis of an arbitrary interpretation of the membership rights. This is simply a misunderstanding. One often hears that "since I am paying my membership dues, I have limitless rights." We ought to reply decisively that no one has any rights on the basis of dues alone, except for the identity card and stamp. The right to use the costly equipment must be earned with social work on behalf of the Aeroklub.

We have noted a broad range of consumer phenomena at the reports-elections meetings of regional aeroclubs, where demands were dominant but where there was no talk of a patriotic education of youth, a social involvement in the work for the aeroklub and realization of tasks on behalf of the army and national defense, the national economy and real sport. It is lamentable that these attitudes did not meet with decisive opposition from the aviation aktiv.

A lack of condemnation of negative attitudes, particularly political ones, is currently the most severe disease of the Aeroklub of the PRL. The rank and importance of the Aeroklub among other national social and sport organizations depends also on the ideological-political and ethical-moral attitudes of the members and social aktiv of our association. After all, this aktiv on behalf of our organization enters into various formal relations with the organs of state administration, institutions and social organizations, work enterprises and military units, and is obliged to represent the association's real interests and present an attitude worthy of the activists of the Aeroklub. The occurring cases of insubordination of regional aeroclubs toward the central management and its presidium also do not testify to a well understood selfgovernment and do not increase the authority of those social powers, thus harming the association.

I personally believe that these negative phenomena which I have criticized have their origin in the current, social club-like character of the association, resulting partly from the current, imprecise statute of the Aeroklub and wrong traditions. I would like to be well understood. I am not questioning the club structure nor the social character of the Aeroklub. It is a fundamental principle of functioning of every social organization. Nevertheless, the occurring cases of bad practices and phenomena entitle me to make such a judgment.

Carrying out the decision of state authorities to change the character of our association and to pass the state supervision of the Aeroklub to the Ministry of National Defense, it will be necessary to change the profile of our association on behalf of its educational function in relation to youth and members and in relation to the basic training of the flying cadres for the Armed Forces and other types of aviation, as well as for tasks on behalf of national defense and national economy. This does not mean that anyone intends to limit the aviation activity in the Aeroklub. All the disciplines of the aviation sport are, after all, defense sports and fit within the defense character of our association. I shall say more. We must not lose anything from the current training and sport achievements of the Aeroklub. The Aeroklub is a social organization and remains one, basing its activity on thousands of social activists dedicated to flying, on their patriotism, involvement, disinterested, self-sacrificing work and activity for the glory of Polish wings.

Independently of its current placement within the system of state supervision, the Aeroklub always benefitted from various forms of support from the department of national defense. As a result of granting the Aeroklub the status of a paramilitary organization of a defense and sport nature, its importance and rank in the social and defense system of the state increases. Thus an appropriate preferential treatment in obtaining funds and equipment for activity and investments from the state budget will be possible, and by the right of restoring the sponsorship of the MON [Ministry of National Defense]--a much greater support from the army in materials and professional expertise will be possible. These are assets resulting from our association's new status and its placement within the system of state supervision. They guarantee a better future for the Aeroklub.

12270

CSO: 2600/1014

MOTIVATIONS FOR PARTY MEMBERSHIP EXAMINED

Warsaw NOWE DROGI in Polish No 5, May 1984 pp 73-83

[Article by Augustyn Wajda and Zdzislaw Malak: "Why Are They Joining the PZPR?"]

[Text] At every stage of activity of a Marxist-Leninist party, constant and profound concern of all its elements with correct quantitative and qualitative development of the party ranks and their proper social composition is a prerequisite for a high level of intraparty life. These problems are fundamental to building up the party. In the last 3 years, which were a special period in the activity of the party, problems of party development have been brought up increasingly often and with particular care by the party leadership as well as its individual local elements.

The abrupt decline in the numerical strength of the party that occurred after the year 1980, when about 28 percent of the members left the ranks, merits special consideration. The reasons for this phenomenon are being and have been analyzed more than once by the party leadership as well as by science and party publications. This allows the authors of the present text to forego their consideration. Moreover, our goal is not to analyze the withdrawal from party ranks but, on the contrary, to grasp certain aspects of party development in recent years, and especially to show the circumstances and motivation for deciding to join the party at this difficult stage.

We do not intend to reproduce information which has already been published many times. However, several essential findings of party membership statistics for the period in question should be mentioned. In July 1980, the PZPR attained record numerical strength for its entire 35-year history: at the time, it consisted of 3,149,000 members and candidates. The largest growth of party ranks occurred in the last pre-crisis years (1976 through 1980), when almost a million persons joined the party.

The largest decline in the number of party members occurred in the years 1981 through 1982, when party membership shrank by almost 800,000 members and candidates (compared to 31 December 1980). On 31 December 1982, 2,322,000 members and candidates were registered. In the following year, this process abated. During that period, the party shrank by about 6 percent and on 31 December 1983 numbered 2,186,000 members and candidates.

The trend toward a decrease in the numerical strength of the party has been perceptibly weakening as of late. The increase in the number of candidates admitted to party membership facilitates the stabilization of numerical strength.

The assessment and analysis of this phenomenon provide a basis for arriving at certain general conclusions.

First, those who joined the party after 1975, i.e., in the period of rapid numerical growth of party membership based on improper guidelines, account for more than one-half (51.7 percent) of those who have left the PZPR. This means that during that period the criteria of quantitative development in building up the party were met at the expense of the quality of party membership. This is to say that the Leninist principle of putting the qualitative condition of the party before the quantitative was not respected.

Second, the reinforcement of the leading and guiding role of the party as the ideological spokesman, organizer and leader of the working class is closely tied to its consistent development and improvement in its social composition. In keeping with the Leninist principles of party development, our party carries out this task in at least two aspects: by drawing into its ranks the best representatives of all communities of working people, and especially workers, and, on the other hand, by freeing itself of individuals who for one reason or another happened to join the party by chance and most often leave the party themselves or are removed from the rosters by the POP's [basic party organizations] or at the request of supervisory organs of the party due to improper political, ideological, ethical or moral attitudes. This is a natural aspect of developmental processes in the party.

At the same time, during the period in question the activity of the party was considerably weakened. As a result of this, the processes of party development were badly disrupted and slowed down. On the one hand, there was a strong and often unchecked outflow of members and candidates, not necessarily the ones who should have left the party for one reason or another; on the other hand, the influx of new candidates was weak. It must be unambiguously stated that many organizations, including those in the working class communities, were not in control of these processes. Mindful of the bad experience of "recruitment into the party" in the years 1977-1980 and facing the necessity of solving the problems of current party work, some party organizations abandoned in this difficult period all efforts at drawing into the party the best representatives of their communities.

However, between the imposition of martial law and March 1983 about 11,000 new candidates were admitted to the party. Since this was an exceptional period in the history of the PZPR, it is very important to analyze who joined the party during this period, what their social background was and what their motivation was for making this momentous decision of their lifetime and, finally, what the circumstances of their joining the party and the consequences in the family, collective, etc., were.

Third, in the years 1982-1983 the process of "setting in order" the party ranks was continued. It is still under way. Party organizations are putting membership files in order and are also holding individual conversations with members whose activity is low.

A comprehensive quantitative and qualitative analysis of changes in the party in recent years will undoubtedly contribute to the return to Leninist principles of party building. Among these principles, it is not so much the organizational measures aimed at promoting numerical growth of the party as the profound and consistent ideological-political and organizational work among non-party-member workers, peasants and working intellectuals that is the basic prerequisite of party development.

Manifestations of such changes and of such an interpretation of party development are seen both in the views of the party aktiv and apparatus and those of the rank-and-file party members, as indicated by polls recently taken in these communities.*

With a view to finding an answer to these complex problems, the Institute for Basic Problems of Marxism-Leninism of the PZPR Central Committee, in cooperation with the Organizational Department of the Central Committee, carried out a poll. The goal of the poll was to study certain processes of party development and to gain at least approximate knowledge of the attitudes, opinions and views of those who joined the party in 1982 and 1983. The poll embraced a randomly selected sample of party candidates throughout Poland. Respondents were randomly selected from one-half of the statistical regions; a total of 178 regions were included in the poll. Questionnaire interviews with as many as 1,628 party candidates were held (this accounts for 15.5 percent of all candidates entered in party files between January 1982 and March 1983). The poll was taken in almost all provinces, the exceptions being Wloclawek and Przemysl, which were not included in the poll due to the selected method of randomizing.

Information on the social and demographic background of candidates obtained through the poll is very much similar to the data of the Organizational Department of the Central Committee on the entire population of party candidates at that time. This makes it possible to state that the results, views and attitudes elicited by the poll are representative of all the candidates admitted at that time.

Features of the Surveyed Group of Candidates

Among the 1,628 comrades included in the poll, 92.5 percent were candidates and about 7 percent were persons whose candidacy period was ending when the poll was taken or were already admitted to the ranks of the PZPR. More than 65 percent of the candidates joined party in 1982, 27.1 percent in 1983, whereas the rest of the candidates were admitted to party membership before 1982.

* Such views were offered by, among others, party functionaries and full-time party employees taking part in polls concerning changes in the party. The polls were taken jointly by the Institute for Basic Problems of Marxism-Leninism and the Center for Party Training of the PZPR Central Committee.

Information on when the candidates made their individual decisions to join the party as well as for how long they had had such an intention appears essential. The results of the poll indicate that a considerable portion of new comrades made that decision long before actually joining the party. For example, 26.8 percent of candidates admitted to the party between January 1982 and March 1983 decided to join the party before 1980, 22.4 percent first intended to do so in 1981, 41.2 percent in 1982, and 9.6 percent in 1983.

On the basis of this data it can be stated that one in four candidates decided to join the party at a particularly difficult stage, i.e., during the most powerful actions against the party by the antisocialist forces. At the same time, only the stabilization of the sociopolitical situation during martial law provided a prerequisite for joining the party for the rest of the candidates.

The candidates participating in the poll mostly belonged to the 25-39 year age bracket (63.2 percent). Therefore, these comrades are at the peak of productive activity. One candidate in five was no older than 25 years (21.3 percent), whereas 15.4 percent of respondents were over 40. In line with this breakdown, the comrades had a relatively stable position and experience in professional life. More than one-half of the candidates (54.6 percent) had been professionally active for more than 10 years, one in four (28.2 percent) had been working for between 5 and 10 years and 27.1 percent of the candidates had been working for less than 5 years.

Candidates admitted to the PZPR during the period under study work in all sectors of the national economy: 22.6 percent work in industry, 13.2 percent in socialized agriculture, 9.8 percent in transportation and communications, 9.8 percent in the state administration, judicial system, national defense, etc., 9.3 percent in science and education, 5.4 percent in retail trade and services, 6.9 percent in construction, 3.0 percent in private farming.

A more precise analysis makes it possible to ascertain that the process of joining the party is slower in larger industrial enterprises, though the workers accounted for 36.3 percent of all accepted candidates in the period in question, private farmers for 3.0 percent and white-collar workers for 52.8 percent. The poll confirmed that discharging management responsibilities is a factor facilitating joining the party: 4.7 percent of the candidates belong to the executive cadre, 14.4 percent hold medium-level management positions, 15.9 percent belong to the low-level management cadres (foremen and low-level supervisors). At the same time, 57.1 percent of the comrades polled do not discharge management responsibilities.

Likewise, the political and social activity of parents is a factor facilitating joining the party by the members of the younger generation. This statement can be made on the basis of the fact that in the entire group under study 38.9 percent of the fathers and 11 percent of the mothers of those joining the party were party members themselves, and 9 percent of the fathers and 3.6 percent of the mothers belonged to [allied] political parties. This phenomenon is especially pronounced in higher education brackets.

Among the candidates surveyed, 42.2 percent come from families where one or both parents belong to the PZPR, and 47.8 percent from families where neither the father nor the mother belongs to any political organization. These statistics make it possible to express the opinion that, despite the independently made decision to join the party which the candidates stress, family traditions and the political activity of parents create an environment shaping respective attitudes of sons and daughters in these families, which in turn provides motivation for joining the PZPR.

The candidates surveyed belonged mostly to various categories of white-collar employees. In the poll sample, less than 34 percent of the comrades had a blue-collar occupation, which is an unfavorable phenomenon as far as the personal composition of the party is concerned. It should be stressed, however, that a majority of candidates come from a working-class (58.5 percent) or peasant (22.0 percent) family, whereas 18 percent come from a white-collar family.

In most cases, parents of the candidates belonged to a lower educational category than their children. For example, 57.5 percent of the candidates come from families where both the father and mother received primary education, 4 percent--basic vocational education, 6.1 percent--secondary education, and 2 percent--college education (in other groups, the education that mothers and fathers received differed).

Generally, the educational level of candidates is higher than that of their parents. This is a result of the educational advancement of the entire younger generation in People's Poland. Only 18 percent of the candidates have primary education, whereas 20 percent have basic vocational education, 43 percent secondary education and 18 percent college education.

Circumstances of Deciding To Join the PZPR

From the point of view of the developmental mechanisms of the party and the quality of its ranks it is essential to answer the following question: is joining the PZPR an independent decision of the candidates or are they in some way encouraged or talked into doing it? This is related to the fact that in the past and maybe occasionally at present the common opinion has been expressed that certain privileges and concrete benefits are associated with party membership, whereas a failure to join the party is a considerable obstacle in one's professional advancement and career. The PZPR is a ruling party; therefore, a certain marginal group has joined and to a degree is still joining the party ("signing up") for circumstantial and opportunistic reasons, often as a result of being talked into it or encouraged, in anticipation of certain benefits associated with party membership.

An overwhelming majority of candidates who joined the party between 1 January 1982 and March 1983 state that they made the decision to join the party on their own, without having been encouraged or talked into it. Eighty-three percent of the candidates surveyed were of that opinion. The independent character of the decision by a majority of candidates is borne out by responses to the question: "Has anyone from among the

people you come in contact with joined the party recently (1982-1983) and has this influenced your decision?" Among the candidates who responded to the first part of the question positively, about 82 percent also stated that this had not influenced their personal decision to join the party.

An overwhelming majority of respondents stated that joining the party was their independent individual choice. However, it has been found that this event also brought an array of consequences for the candidate in his community. The attitude of the milieu, especially in the family, and on the job of the candidate can be considered an indirect indicator of the attitude of various social groups to the party in general and the policy implemented by the party in particular. The responses of the candidates surveyed indicate that a relatively large share of them encountered attempts to discourage or talk them out of joining the party. Such actions were most frequently undertaken by colleagues at the candidate's place of employment (22.1 percent) or by friends and acquaintances from outside the place of employment (17.0 percent). Seven percent of the candidates stated that they were discouraged by family members, and almost 2 percent by their supervisors on the job(!). Altogether, one in three candidates (33.7 percent) stated that before joining the PZPR he was discouraged or advised against this decision on the job, by his family or by his friends.

The most pressure was brought to bear on the candidates from working-class and intelligentsia backgrounds. Advice against joining the party and discouragement were encountered by 38.3 percent of workers, 34.2 percent of white-collar employees with college education, 33.6 percent of technicians and foremen, and 22.4 percent of private farmers. Information provided by the poll indicates the persistence of disapproving attitudes toward the party in the intellectual and some working-class communities. The types of argument the candidates encountered before joining the party also testify to this. Among these arguments, the views criticizing the program and activity of the party in the last pre-crisis years were most often brought up; negative [character] traits of individual party members, especially those in leadership positions and their improper, egotistical attitudes at the time were pointed out, as was the absence of practical benefits associated with belonging to the party, as expressed in the saying: "What's in it for you?" The possibility of social isolation and unfavorable changes in contacts with the social, working and family communities upon joining the party were also pointed out.

Despite the above-mentioned attempts at discouraging and recommending against the candidates joining the party, the results of the poll do not confirm that joining the party generates on a large scale conflicts and tensions in relations the candidates have on the job, with friends or family members. The share of persons encountering the rise of new conflicts upon joining the party was decidedly lower than the share of those noting that before joining they encountered resistance or discouragement from colleagues on the job or family members. A great majority of the candidates think that upon joining the party the attitude towards them on the job has not changed in any way, whereas only one candidate in nine (12 percent) states that there has been a change in the attitude of non-party-member colleagues.

Candidates working in large industrial enterprises cited the rise of new conflicts and tensions associated with joining the party relatively more frequently. Also, negative changes in the attitude of the milieu were more frequently noticed by workers and middle-level supervisors than by persons in management and administration. The assertion resulting from the poll that the negative pressure affects especially the workers occupying lower positions in enterprises explains in part the smaller influx into the party of candidates from these backgrounds. On the other hand, it provides an important pointer for methods and forms of further activity of basic party organizations.

In analyzing the issues of the response of the milieu to joining the party, an instructive fact may be addressed: no essential differences were registered in the matter between the candidates who previously belonged to particular trade unions and those who did not belong to a union at all. Thus, previous trade union membership was but a minimal factor inducing differentiation in the population as far as the response to joining the party is concerned. The significance of this is to be found in the fact that, after all, the evaluation of three types of trade unions was at issue: trade unions operating before 1980, NSZZ Solidarity, and trade unions which were set up in the period in question.

It should be stressed that the results obtained on the issue of the attitude towards the PZPR are similar to responses in the same questionnaire describing the attitude of non-party members to party members in the enterprise. These responses suggest that negative attitudes of non-party members to party-member employees are manifested in a small portion of working-class communities. These attitudes are mostly displayed in the form of certain actions and verbally articulated views, such as: avoiding contact with party members in certain situations, the voicing of unfavorable opinions, etc. It may be stressed that 9 percent of the candidates viewed the attitude of non-party members to party members in their milieu as unfriendly or hostile, 32.9 percent said this attitude was indifferent and neutral, 23.4 percent tolerant and 7.0 percent friendly and sympathetic. Taking into account the subjective nature of the views described and the certain sharp differentiation of relations between party and non-party members depending on the milieu, the type of enterprise and the political environment in a given enterprise, we can assert with certainty that the results obtained diverge profoundly from the common persuasion that in this politically difficult period the party and its members are isolated from the rest of the work force and that the ties of party and non-party members have loosened to a very great extent.

Issues of motivation for deciding to join the party and the expectations of candidates were reflected in the key questions of the poll. The goal was to conduct an empirical study of the motivation of the candidates joining the party in this politically complicated period.

The candidates surveyed were asked to furnish as exhaustive a set as possible of motivations and expectations prompting them to join the party. The statements by candidates on this issue were usually detailed

and contained various forms of reasoning. Its analysis would be impossible without trying to come up with a classification of the most frequently mentioned motivations and segregate them into groups with a relatively homogenous content. The set of categories employed in the poll makes it possible to define the frequency with which motivations surface in the statements of candidates. These were as follows:

- the desire to be active in social affairs (motivations of that kind were mentioned by 25.9 percent of the candidates surveyed);
- acceptance and a positive view of the party program and policy (25.3 percent);
- the desire to support the party, its actions and programs in the current difficult political situation in the country (19.7 percent);
- confidence in the party as the force capable of bringing the country out of the crisis, persuasion that the party has a realistic program to that end (14.3 percent);
- through party membership one can influence social and economic processes in our country, one can be active and have some input in decisionmaking (13.6 percent);
- acceptance of Marxist-Leninist ideology (10.2 percent);
- the desire to participate in the struggle against negative social phenomena, which the party is undertaking through its programs and activities (9.2 percent);
- the desire to gain a better understanding of political issues (6.2 percent);
- the party has undergone a renewal, it works better and the results are showing (5.9 percent);
- belonging to the party is the best way to realize the ideals of socialism (4.0 percent);
- being active in the party makes it easier to solve professional problems and understand reality (3.6 percent);
- I was offered membership and I could not decline (3.0 percent);
- party membership brings tangible benefits (it is easier to get an apartment, a car, agricultural implements) (2.9 percent).

We quote some of the explanations provided in the survey purposefully, in order to show the variety of motivations stated by party candidates. On the whole, they can be classified into the following six categories:

--ideological motivation (acceptance of Marxist-Leninist ideology, acceptance of materialistic worldview, etc.);

--motivation of political support (acceptance of the program, policy and activity of the party etc.);

--the need to be active in social affairs, to influence political and socioeconomic life;

--motivation associated with family traditions;

--motivation associated with personal interests;

--inducement, suggestion or prompting to join the party.

Within the set of motivations so defined, political motivations, declared by more than one-half of all candidates (50.4 percent), decidedly dominate.

Assuming that ideological and political motivations as well as being active in social affairs essentially exhaust the statutory requirements for party membership and activity in its ranks, the results of the survey make it possible to state that:

--47.8 percent of the candidates while giving reasons for joining the PZPR stated one motivation as the basic (out of which 7.9 percent stated only ideological motivation, 24.1 percent political motivation, and 15.8 percent were guided only by the need for social activity);

--21.5 percent of the candidates referred to two types of motivations (out of which 6 percent cited political and ideological motivation, 4 percent ideological and social motivation and 11.5 percent political and social motivations);

--1.4 percent of the candidates referred to ideological and political motivation and the need for social activity combined.

The dominance of political prerequisites for joining the party, revealed by the statements of a majority of candidates, was apparent in all age brackets. However, it was the strongest among candidates between 40 and 49 years of age. In its turn, ideological motivation was mentioned more frequently by the younger (below 29) and older (over 50) comrades than by the candidates in the 30-49 age bracket. Political motivation ranked first for a majority of candidates in every socioprofessional group. It was referred to by 55 percent of workers, 51.2 percent of technicians and foremen, 51 percent of farmers and 40.5 percent of white-collar employees. Differences in the occurrence of ideological motivation are more pronounced, however. These were most often mentioned by white-collar employees (29.5 percent), technicians and foremen (28.3 percent), and less often by workers (15.8 percent) and farmers (8.1 percent).

Generally, it may be noted that support for the party program and the desire to support its activities aimed at overcoming the crisis situation

in the country were the main factors prompting the candidates to join the PZPR in the period in question. This pragmatic rather than ideological motivation of a majority of candidates follows, as one may see, from the analysis of the current situation in the country and the desire of those joining the party to participate actively in its activities aimed at bringing the country out of the crisis.

On the other hand, the results of the survey suggest that admission to the ranks of the PZPR is but a stage in the shaping of the consciousness and attitudes of the candidates, especially with regard to the sphere of convictions and worldview. Intensive forms of indoctrination that reinforce the ties of the new comrades with the party and especially its ideology should be introduced during the term of candidacy.

The second ranking of ideological and worldview motivations suggests that comprehensive ideological upbringing activity should, especially at the basic level, center on these issues. This is all the more justified since ideological motivation was referred to more frequently by candidates who before joining the party were associated with it by participating in meetings or indoctrination sessions or were active in youth organizations. This shows that the "pre-candidacy" forms of indoctrination and contacts make it possible to shape a correct attitude in the future party member and to develop his views. Participation in sessions and party meetings before joining the party promotes interest in the ideological and sociopolitical goals of the party, shapes the correct image of the party in the candidate's mind, acquaints the candidate with the fundamentals of party organization and practical activity. The survey has shown that, unfortunately, only a minor share of the candidates had come in contact with any form of organized party activity before joining the party. Therefore, the need to intensify the political and ideological work of party organizations in their communities, and to draw into this work potential candidates on a larger scale, becomes apparent.

Information provided by the survey on the social activity of candidates before joining the party proves the existence of the above-mentioned problems. The following answers were given to the question about the forms of social activity before joining the party:

- 38.9 percent of the candidates took part in ideological and political indoctrination sessions;
- 55.6 percent of the candidates attended open party meetings;
- 32.3 percent of the candidates participated in consultations, meetings and conferences organized by the party;
- 64.7 percent were active in social organizations, and 32.6 percent held a post in these organizations;
- 39.8 percent of candidates participated in other forms of social activity.

Even if we opt for the most optimistic interpretation of presented results from the point of view of accepted principles of shaping the party ranks, this data would still point out the drawbacks of party work with the candidates. Such drawbacks still occur. It seems that the basic elements of the party display too little vigor in persuading, informing and winning the non-party members over for their cause and activity. The everyday bond between the party and non-party working people should be especially emphasized here. This is one of the most essential issues associated with the implementation of the resolutions of the Ninth Extraordinary Congress of the PZPR. It should also cause us concern that one in three candidates did not participate previously in any activity of any social organization. This is a violation of the statutory principle calling for each candidate to be involved with one of the social organizations before joining the party. On the other hand, it can be stated on the basis of the results of the survey that the forms of party work with non-party members and PZPR candidates are an important aspect of activity of most basic party organizations. The stabilization of the political environment in a majority of working-class communities favors this.

Criteria of Party Membership

The information on the motivation of surveyed candidates for joining the party given above is complemented by their views on the criteria of PZPR membership. This issue was of much interest to the candidates; it has been indicated that this problem was a subject of lively discussion among party members and candidates. According to an overwhelming majority of respondents, the following should be the basic criteria for party membership: acceptance of the party program and acceptance of Marxist-Leninist ideology. These criteria are acknowledged by more than 90 percent of the candidates, regardless of their socioprofessional affiliation, type of social milieu, age bracket, and worldview.

However, when it comes to the worldview criteria of party membership, divergent opinions are registered. Over 63 percent of the candidates recognized that party members should adhere to the materialistic worldview, whereas 28 percent of those surveyed disagreed. One in three respondents was of the opinion that party membership should entail the renunciation of the religious worldview and renunciation of the practice of religion, whereas more than 60 percent of the candidates thought that both the religious worldview and religious practices can be reconciled with party membership. It is significant that the opinions of the necessity to embrace the materialistic worldview, to renounce the religious worldview and religious practices were also voiced by a significant share of candidates who stated that they consider themselves religious and practice religion. Therefore, it may be suggested that some candidates are finding themselves in a situation of a more or less consciously perceived conflict of convictions and views. Due to this, in their stated motivations for joining the party they declared that they proceeded from the prerequisites of supporting the party program and desiring to get involved in social activities rather than the acceptance of the worldview principles of party activity.

The analysis of the motivations of those deciding to join the party should become a routine practice of party echelons and organizations. Such an analysis reflects the strong and weak points of party activities in this most important sphere of life and party work, the impact of the party on the populace and multifaceted links with the populace. This analysis is especially important in a time of rapid growth of the party and also in a time when the growth of the party is a result of deliberate and efficient ideological upbringing and political activity. The development of the party must be a result of the multifaceted everyday activities of the party. In no case must it be solely a result of various organizational and, worse yet, administrative measures, though organizing efforts associated with political and ideological actions are quite appropriate in this matter.

A thorough knowledge of motivations for joining the party allows party organizations to work out correct programs of activity; this knowledge enables us to work out the forms and modes of functioning of all elements of the party which would translate the Leninist method of party building into reality and, most of all, provide for the bond between the party and the masses, democratic forms of mass participation in government and correct quantitative and qualitative development of the party. This development determines the political strength of the party and safeguards its vanguard nature.

9761

CSO: 2600/1065

PARTY JOURNAL DESCRIBES 'IDEOLOGICAL BATTLE' WITH POPE

AUL31737 Warsaw NOWE DROGI in Polish June 84 pp 116-126

[Beata Witkowska article: "The Real and Postulated World of John Paul II"]

[Excerpts] In his sermons, John Paul II not only opposes Marxism, which regards revolution as the chief method of social liberation and progress in history, but also opposes the principles of the so-called "theology of liberation," which is widely known in the world today. This theology speaks of the need for a real and firm transformation of unjust social relations, unjust especially in Third World countries. The pope has spoken out unequivocally against the theology of liberation and against the clergy's involvement in radical methods of solving socioeconomic problems during his trips to Latin American countries. He said, among other things: "The concept of Christ as a politician, revolutionary, and agitator from Nazareth is irreconcilable with the church's teachings.... The future of his mission is much wider. It involves full salvation through peace-bearing love, forgiveness, and reconciliation." (Footnote) (John Paul II: "Sermon to the Bishops in Pueblo, 28 January 1979," excerpted from "The Social Teachings of John Paul II During This Year's Trip to Poland," NOWE DROGI issue No 9, 1983, pg 232-233). We cannot fail to notice, and experts on the topic emphasize this, that John Paul II's stance toward the social-liberational hopes of millions of Catholics is a great step backwards compared to the views on this subject worked out during the Second Vatican Council.

The present pope's criticism does not avoid the current practices of countries with real socialism. John Paul II performs this criticism in the light of his thoughts on private ownership. This is a subject that has appeared in the church's social teachings since the end of the 19th century first of all as a central topic and later somewhat hushed up. Today, John Paul II, departing from the facts, states: "Christian tradition has never regarded the right to private ownership as an absolute and inviolable principle. However, it has always regarded this right in the widest context of everyone's universal right to avail himself of the values of the whole of creation. The right to personal ownership is subservient to the right to make universal use of these values." (Footnote) (John Paul II, "Labor Exercens" encyclical, para 3, taken from "John Paul II--Encyclicals and Enunciations," Warsaw 1983, p 132). We can deduce from papal documents that this stance only applies to

the latest popes. Despite expounding everything that burdens private ownership, papal social doctrine "defends the just right to private ownership" and firm opposes a "radical separation of work from ownership." The elimination of private means of production is subject to papal criticism.

It seems that the above criticism was formulated on the basis of the Polish pope's knowledge of the practical implementation, not always correct, of the principles of scientific socialism. In its deliberations on man as a subject of collective life and of the social process of labor, Marxist historical materialism clearly demands the implementation of the principle whereby "man is the supreme entity" and categorically demands "the elimination of all relations in which man is humiliated, suppressed, forsaken, and scored." (Footnote) (K. Marx "Contribution Toward a Critique of Hegel's Philosophy of Law," introduction from "Works of Karl Marx," vol 1, p 457).

The mission of John Paul II is not the mission of a reformer, but of a creative continuer of the achievements of his immediate predecessors, whose names he has assumed. He is creative in that he consolidates and extends the state of possession that constantly signifies the presence of the Catholic Church in the world, or even, as the pope desires, a state that "relates" the world to the church (Footnote) (A. Fossard: "Do Not Be Fearful--Conversations With John Paul II", Krakow, 1982). Such an idea behind the way the Office of Teachings works forces us to take advantage of the entire achievements up to now of social thought, not excluding the thought of scientific socialism. By using abstract expressions and general slogans, attempts arise to create a new utopia that allows the inclusion of the Catholic Church in every sociopolitical reality. Declaring its superiority over political matters, the Church, in the person of its highest leader, feels empowered--like a guard over the highest values of humanity--to criticize all phenomena, situations, and social solutions.

The pope has in many parts of his speeches and enunciations stated that: "It is difficult not to admit that the feeling of justice has been developed to a huge scale in today's world," (Footnote 31) (John Paul II's encyclical: "Dives in Misericordia," Point VI-12 p 92) but at the same time he stresses that "It is also difficult not to notice that the programs that originated from the idea of justice and are supposed to serve its implementation in the sphere of coexistence between people and society are frequently distorted. Although, therefore, they continue to refer to the same idea of justice, experience indicates that other negative forces like obstinacy, hatred, or even cruelty have taken precedence." (Footnote) (Ibidem). However, he himself does not give the real reasons for the fact that the idea of justice is dashed in many of his negative and positive definitions of the idea of justice (Footnote) (John Paul II: Speech to Believers in San Domingo on 25 January 1979, from "Social Teaching" p 291; ibidem: the "Dives in Misericordia" encyclical Point VI-12) and even in this case, he consistently rejects the class-based analysis of this concept and does not include the basic need for change in human relations to his postulate on justice. And so, this slogan remains in the utopian sphere in the pope's teachings, because he does not consider the realistic conditions and chances for implementing it while he expresses his belief in the functioning of moralistic appeals.

I have tried to present the excerpts of the current pope's social thoughts, the ones that indicate a new concept of the Vatican vision of the world. This is based on an adaptation of many ways of thinking and values that have been worked out on the basis of scientific socialism, and ones that, at the same time, include criticism of this socialism.

It would seem that this attempt to bring Christian thought closer to the problems undertaken by the ideology of the workers movement above all stems from the desire to overcome a certain isolation from the workers class (on a world-wide scale) and the Vatican's discounting of socialism's solidarity-like [solidarnosciowe] and political successes. Of course, John Paul II continues to be a critical adversary and stresses the weaknesses or distortions in the implementation of scientific socialism everywhere that he finds the smallest reason to do so.

But it is necessary to emphasize that he is a new kind of adversary. The values and ideas that have permanently been registered in the modern world's collective awareness as a legacy of scientific socialism are now also becoming a basis for the construction of the Catholic vision of the ideal, utopian society in which the central educational role will be played by the Catholic Church's Office of Teaching. An ideological battle with an opponent who uses this kind of method is considerably more difficult than it was with past popes, who hurled curses at people, because it makes it our duty to have a considerably deeper knowledge of contemporary doctrine and its ideological complexity.

Of course, I have not shown the wealth of the content of John Paul II's social teachings. I restricted myself to commenting on several selected parts of this teaching alone, elements that are of crucial significance to the understanding of the ideological policy line of the current (and, after all, still active) pope.

CSO: 2600/1106

REPORTAGE ON TROFIN'S DEATH

[Editorial Report] Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian 6 July 1984 on page 5 publishes the following announcement in the obituary column: "The entire family announces, with deep sorrow, the death of Virgil Trofin, an honest, diligent, modest militant, devoted without bounds to the Romanian Communist Party, of which he was a member and which he served faithfully for his entire life." A notice from "Eugenia, Ana, Mircea and their children," in ROMANIA LIBERA, 7 July, page 4 reports that Trofin will be buried on that day, in the Ghencea Military Cemetery. The same issue of the paper contains expressions of sympathy from other members of the family. The 9 July issue of ROMANIA LIBERA, page 4, publishes condolences from the "Iliescu family" hailing Trofin as a "devoted militant of the Romanian Communist Party, whom we will always remember," as well as a message from Trofin's "former colleagues in Iasi" calling him "a hard-working, modest man, an admirable and devoted person." In ROMANIA LIBERA of 10 July, page 4, "Amet Melek and family" express sadness at the death of Trofin, "using this means to pay him their final respect."

CSO: 2700/236

YUGOSLAVIA

DEFENSE MINISTER CONGRATULATES ARMORED, MECHANIZED UNITS

LD150958 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0728 GMT 15 Jul 84

[Text] Belgrade, 15 Jul (TANJUG)--On the occasion of the 40th anniversary of the formation of the 1st Tank Brigade and the armored and mechanized branch of the SFRY Armed Forces Federal Secretary for National Defense and Admiral of the Fleet Branko Mamula has sent cordial congratulations and comradely military greetings to the members of the armored and mechanized units.

The formation of the 1st Tank Brigade of the National Liberation Army of Yugoslavia, the message of greetings says, is an important date in the creation of the modern Armed Forces of the SFRY. The first tank units of the National Liberation Army of Yugoslavia, formed at the height of the national liberation struggle with tanks seized from the enemy, played an important role in the struggle against the occupying forces and local traitors, particularly in the final operations for the liberation of the country.

Our tank crews in the national liberation war were distinguished by their steadfast combative spirit, their high degree of awareness, their bravery and patriotism. A large number of officers and tank crewmen in the ranks gave their lives for the foundations of our revolution, perishing bravely on battlefields throughout Yugoslavia. Use these examples and these illustrious traditions in your training, develop the combative morale, and preserve the gains of our socialist revolution.

The armored and mechanized units today are a modern branch and the strike force of our land army. The modern military technology which you have at your disposal demands great efforts in training so that its use in practical operations is mastered and the possibilities which this technology affords are utilized. You have achieved excellent results in this respect so far for which I give you credit.

May these successes, and the illustrious traditions of the tank crews in the national liberation war and of the zealous workers in the postwar development of the armored and mechanized units, be an inexhaustible source of inspiration and stimulus for further efforts in the growth of your units, commands and institutions and in the development of brotherhood and unity among our nations and nationalities. I wish you much success in this.

CSO: 2800/404

YUGOSLAVIA

DRAGOSAVAC ADDRESSES NOVI SAD MEETING

LD112012 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1411 GMT 11 Jul 84

[Excerpts] Novi Sad, 11 Jul (TANJUG)--We can justifiably be proud of our foreign policy and the standpoints in the LCY program because we have contributed to socialism in the world pulling itself out of its defensive position and isolation, Dr Dusan Dragosavac, member of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, said today in Novi Sad to members of the Yugoslav people's Army garrison and representatives of the sociopolitical life of the Socialist Autonomous Province of Vojvodina and the Novi Sad town community.

Having noted that our country, like the entire world, is in deep recession, Dragosavac warned that the enemies of socialist self-management and nonaligned Yugoslavia are endeavoring to operate by winning over supporters within our country and to alter the present relations in society. In this respect parts of the Catholic, Orthodox and Muslim clergy, who are endeavoring to be partners of the state and political organizations have become considerably more active.

We must also resolutely resist all other attempts to denigrate our revolution. If we fail to do this we will be faced with the further strengthening of nationalism, which is in any case on the increase, and with the emergence of federalism in the League of Communists, and that at a time when unity is most necessary to us. Nor can we accept a discussion about the vanguard role of the LCY in which that role of the party is contested or placed outside the context of the revolution, Dragosavac stressed. He added that brotherhood and unity, as the greatest gain of our revolution, cannot be replaced by anything, even fellowship.

CSO: 2800/404

JOINT SLOVENE STATEMENT ON POST-WWII TRIALS

LD102238 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1515 GMT 10 Jul 84

["Full text of joint statement by Slovene LC Central Committee Presidium and Slovene SAWP Republican Conference Presidium--TANJUG headline]

[Text] Ljubljana, 10 Jul (TANJUG)--At the time when our revolution was going through its most difficult period--in 1948 and 1949--the military and later the district court in Ljubljana held what was known as the Dachau and some other trials, during which it sentenced several former inmates, members of the concentration camp committees in Dachau and Buchenwald for collaboration with the Gestapo to heavy time sentences and some even to death.

Several years later relatives and also various organizations of inmates in the country and abroad started asking whether these sentences had really been fully justified and demanding a reassessment of these trials.

At the initiative of the political leadership of Slovenia on the basis of certain new assessments and at the proposal of former inmates or their relatives, the judicial organs have reexamined the evidence and discussed the circumstances in which inmates lived in concentration camps in Germany during World War II. They reached the conclusion that it is impossible to assert unreservedly that the concentration camp committees in Dachau and Buchenwald had been or had not been Gestapo organizations or that the Gestapo had been able to influence these organizations and their activity through individuals. These new assessments called in question the justifiability of the sentences passed on the former camp inmates.

On this basis the Slovene LC Central Committee set up a special commission in April 1968 with the task of studying the evidence and giving its view on the trials. The commission established that the presentation of evidence had been inadequate and that this had resulted in unjustified sentences. On this basis the Slovene League of Communists dissociated itself at its sixth congress in December 1968 from the generalized assessments made during the investigation proceedings and from the judgement that the camp committees in Dachau and Buchenwald had been Gestapo organizations, and stressed that they had been organizations "which the inmates organized during their common struggle against the Nazi terror and to which both the LCY and other socio-political factors in our country are paying and will continue to pay tribute

with their attitude." The Slovene LC Central Committee also asked state organs to carry out a comprehensive analysis of the trials. In May 1969 the Executive Council of the SR of Slovenia Assembly appointed a commission which examined all the material.

The commissions of the Slovene LC Central Committee and the Executive Council of the SR of Slovenia Assembly reached the conclusion that the sentences had not resulted from the personal guilt of individuals but from the assumption that the membership of a camp committee in itself meant that those concerned should be called to account, in other words from the assessment which was held to be decisive with regard to criminal issues involved, that is that everybody who played any role in the internal camp administration or in any camp institution was a Gestapo agent. Likewise the sentences compared the so-called "Reeducation" in the camps with reeducation for the needs of the Gestapo. Also decisive for these sentences was the verdict that signature under the so-called statement of loyalty was tantamount to agreeing to cooperate with the Gestapo.

On the basis of these conclusions the public prosecutor's office of the Socialist Republic of Slovenia sought leave in 1961 and 1967 to reopen the proceedings. In this connection it made use of new discoveries and a new fully documented book on concentration camps. On both occasions the supreme court judged that its application was justified and allowed the reopening of the proceedings. In the course of the further proceedings before the Ljubljana district court the public prosecutor's office of the SR of Slovenia withdrew its original charges and the court halted criminal proceedings and annulled the sentences. The public was also informed about this.

The majority of the people convicted were amnestied in response to applications from themselves or from their relatives after serving a number of years of their sentences. In keeping with the development of socialist democratic relations the judicial consequences of the sentences pronounced were also eliminated and the sentenced persons or those of their relative who were entitled to pensions had their right to pension recognized and were able to benefit from other measures of material or other nature.

Striving for truth and the correct assessment of the stages of the socialist revolution and seeking to ensure the continuity of it, the Slovene LC Central Committee Presidium and the Slovene SAWP Republican Conference Presidium decided to establish the conditions in which these trials had been held and why the charges then brought had been annulled after the reopening of the proceedings. Knowledge of these circumstances fundamentally contributes to understanding the then internal and external political position of Yugoslavia and of the conditions and atmosphere in which the above-mentioned sentences came to be passed.

At the time of the trials Slovenia and the whole of Yugoslavia were in a most difficult political and economic position. The first postwar years were in fact years of exceptional efforts aimed at rebuilding the devastated country. At the same time they were also a period of bitter struggle to defend the

revolution, the state and national independence in the face of hostile threats and pressures, which were also seeking support for their activities among the remnants of the class enemy in our state. Foreign powers made use in this connection of every political means, including military threats and pressures, and in the process of doing so also exploited the unsolved question of the Western border. Emigre subversion groups were sent into the country and used arms in an attempt to frustrate efforts to consolidate and develop the new social order, burned down and destroyed social and private property and killed activists. At the same time they activated their agents using sabotage and similar actions to sow unrest among the people and lack of confidence in the ability of the socialist forces to complete the reconstruction of the country, to carry out the 5-year plan and to ensure the material and political development of society.

The Nazi spy network, which the occupier created during the national liberation struggle, was not and has not even now been fully uncovered. Public security organs uncovered links between former agents and their new masters and also their links with the White Guard emigration, which was trying to weaken the forces of revolution and demoralize the populations by means of numerous economic, propaganda and subversion actions, and to uphold the slogan on the "impending liberation of Slovenia," to be carried out by the Western forces.

This was not merely propaganda, because it is well known how World War II was extended on Slovene soil and the complications in connection with Trieste, the Slovene littoral and Carinthia, which were connected with the reactionary forces' intention to realize their plans for the creation of a new state in that part of Europe. The occupying and quisling forces which raged on Slovene soil in the last year of the war were of such dimensions that after final victory and liberation our partisan army captured several hundred thousand enemy soldiers, including several thousand war criminals, who were ready to change masters and serve the interests of the Western reactionary forces.

The situation deteriorated in the spring of 1948 at the time of the open conflict with Stalin, which was followed by an economic blockade and political, propaganda and military pressure on Yugoslavia from the East as well. That was a dangerous attempt to isolate our country completely. The Stalinist propaganda apparatus used every means at its disposal to create a lack of confidence in the Yugoslav socialist social reality among our people and abroad, in the course of which it unsparingly attacked the state's sociopolitical leadership. To this end it also exploited individuals who, burdened by mistakes made in the past, had to give a signed promise to work for the needs of foreign intelligence services and against the interests of their state.

Thus we were forced to wage a struggle on two fronts. A fanatical struggle began for Yugoslavia's survival and independence and for the fundamental gains of the revolution. In recent history there surely cannot exist another example of a young, small and economically exhausted country, such as ours was, being able to withstand such pressures from two different social systems.

The political circumstances and the troubles in which our working people found themselves called for a severe condemnation of all attempts by the counterrevolution, particularly of its agencies which had, with external support, threatened the revolutionary achievements and the country's independence. The Gestapo is known to have had a very widespread network of agents, which could not be wholly detected and which its masters were bound to try to use in a critical moment: Some of the agents had been activated at the time of the Cominform conflicts for enemy activity against Yugoslavia.

A series of circumstances had earlier confirmed the justified suspicion that a large part of the Gestapo network, which had been operating before and during the war and had been partly exposed in trials against German criminals and criminals at home, still remained undetected and was serving new masters who had tried to establish the old social system in Yugoslavia; they also represented potential collaborators for Stalin's intelligence service.

In its entire development, our party, particularly in its underground struggle and armed revolution, demanded from its cadres courageous and morally exemplary behavior anywhere in the face of the enemy and had always been strict with regard to hesitation or opportunism in its own ranks. It demanded that its cadres march resolutely, consistently, and firmly along the revolutionary path, that they devote to it their entire physical and mental force along with conscious discipline, self-sacrifice and, if necessary, also the ultimate sacrifice. It is precisely from this that the mental and moral superiority over the enemy of the majority of those who fell from the ranks of the communists and of all genuine fighters for freedom stemmed.

In such circumstances, people for whom it had been established that they had enjoyed certain privileges in the prisons and concentration camps of the occupiers and who had carried out certain types of work in the camp administration were suspected of collaborating with the Gestapo organization. The concatenation of circumstances and signs which had aroused suspicion pointed to individuals who occupied significant political and economic functions after the war, having behaved in German concentration camps during the war in an opportunist manner in the face of the enemy, or to individuals who had been won over for one kind of collaboration or another through brutal physical and psychological pressures. This is all the more so evident as some individuals did not behave irreproachably toward their comrades and in this way deepened the suspicion that it was a question of collaboration with the Gestapo. Even during the war some individuals returned from concentration camps in unexplained circumstances and had joined the national liberation movement, while others stopped their revolutionary activity after being released from the camps. These facts also exerted an influence on the generalized assessment about antifascist committees in German concentration camps having been Gestapo organizations. The discovery that some individuals who worked on these committees had carried out work in the camps which served the experiments on humans; that they lived outside the camps and had come to the camps to work; that they had acquired working and material facilities; that following the temporary release from the camp they had not wanted to join the partisans though they had the opportunity to do so; that they used to leave the camp

to meet their relatives without using this to flee but in fact returned to the camp, etc; had also all contributed to this assessment. This and some other facts understandably alarmed the people, annoyed them, and evoked severe moral-political condemnations. At that time it was difficult to separate opportunism before the enemy and overt cooperation with him and the working people had been exceptionally sensitive as to who had been where in the war and how he had behaved. Considering the fact that many had succumbed to violence and torture, that they had preferred to die rather than to accept the service with the occupiers, that the fighters had at all times called into question their lives without hesitation, the people had difficulty in understanding--without knowing a series of circumstances known now--why individual communists in the Gestapo concentration camp machinery had behaved in such moral-political manner. It is from this that the conclusion stemmed that these people had acted contrary to the principles of the revolutionary struggle and that they could be used, or were already used, as a tool of Western or Cominform agencies for diversions against our socialist community and its independence.

Such were the times in which these trials took place. Therefore, these trials cannot be judged only from today's legal norms and in today's circumstances or at today's level of development of social relations. Now, much of what had at one time been considered inevitable appears in a different light than at the time when the merciless revolutionary times demanded a kind of behavior in keeping only with those times. A specific aspect of our revolution was also the fact that it had been building from the very start its own legislation, its road, its care for man and for humanism and which had never excluded the decisive blows on the traitors of our people and on the occupiers' collaborators.

The Dachau trials had also been a reflection of the times and of the circumstances, of the difficulties, and direct threat to and defense of the revolution. The time in which they were held, a life-and-death battle had waged. This was the time of difficult tests and dangers for the further existence of independence and revolutionary achievements. The time which the people had barely survived left many deep traces. Any suspicion called for justification. The fear that many enemies had concealed themselves and that they were merely waiting for a favorable time in order to stab the new social order in the back was also justified. On behalf of democracy the party had to severely settle accounts with the liberalist forces which came forward, before the 29th Slovene LC Central Committee session, with the well-known theses about national reconciliation, with deliberations about the errors which took place during and after the war, etc, and which had in fact begun to attack individual revolutionary acts and thus tried to devalue the national liberation struggle and the achievements of the revolution. By generalizing individual errors and injustices, they tried to devalue revolutionary measures such as severe punishments for occupiers' collaborators, nationalization, the agrarian reform, compulsory purchases of produces, work drive brigades, settling of accounts with war and postwar speculators, etc. Organs of state and public security, which had been in the front fighting positions against enemies of all kinds, were particularly exposed to attacks.

Individual weaknesses stemming from insufficient experience and which arose in the first postwar years under the influence of Stalinist views and practice by individuals even in the sphere of investigating services can, nevertheless, not throw a shadow on their merits on whose account we had in the past successfully prevented attacks by the enemy and forced him to retreat.

Despite the exceptionally critical position in which it found itself several times, our revolution has always remained loyal to the workers' and people's interests; it has always remained deeply human. Individual weaknesses and their consequences, to which no great social-historical act is immune, have not in a single period dragged the revolution away from its main course in our country. Not in a single period did bureaucratic and technocratic forces, authoritarian management, and abuses from greed prevail. And from the start, revolutionary courts passed severe sentences for individual cases of violence and abuse of position.

During the war and even later the political leadership sounded a warning that vigilance must not lead to mechanical judgement and suspicion that everyone who hesitates is automatically loyal to the enemy. There were calls for a severe struggle against weaknesses and errors in one's own ranks.

Both presidiums are convinced that a critical attitude toward and courage in detecting and abolishing decisions which appear today in a different light represent an obligatory component of development, search and growth, a precious value of our revolution from its conception to date.

A critical examination of our weaknesses stems from our loyalty to the principles and tenets of the revolution. This most worries those who want to diminish--either from hostile motives or ignorance--the significance of our national liberation struggle and socialist revolution. We have never given in to those who wanted to make a myth out of our revolutionary past, who wanted to preserve the past as something unchangeable and something which is created once for ever, or to those who underrate this revolution and want to devalue it. Our society therefore resolutely rejects and does not accept, either today or tomorrow, any demand for the rehabilitation of traitors, collaborators of occupying forces, White Guards, Home Guards or the Cominform; any demand whatsoever to condemn other urgent measures of our postwar socialist construction, the aim of which is the protection of socialist society, independence and achievements of the revolution; attempts to devalue the inexorable measures by state, public security and judiciary organs which had indisputable merits in our successful rebuff of all attacks by the enemies of the socialist community and having forced them into the defensive; and other attempts to demoralize the cadres of the revolution and its basic achievements.

The national liberation struggle and the socialist revolution, which shoulder-to-shoulder with other Yugoslav peoples brought liberation and independence to the Slovene people and enabled the working class and all working people to build a new and more just society, have and will have the greatest value for every honest man in our country.

The presidiums are convinced of the correctness of the court and the prosecuting office decisions which cancelled the sentences for acts for which they believe that insufficient proof exists or for which the proof is being appraised differently in the light of new knowledge. To eliminate the judicial consequences of the verdicts does not, of course, free some of those sentenced for their moral-political responsibility for behavior in the concentration camps because that responsibility was much greater for camp inmates-members of the communist party. Both presidiums particularly stress that the decision of the Supreme Court and the prosecuting office is in line with the efforts of our socialist self-managing society, present in the entire revolutionary practice so far, that one should fight for every man and that precisely on account of preserving the humane content of the revolution any injustice should be eliminated the moment it is discovered. We will never allow such efforts by society to be abused as a means of attacking the revolution, the unity of the working class and working masses in the work to implement the basic goals of the LC's political orientation and to implement the constitutionally established foundations of free self-managing society of associated producers.

CSO: 2800/404

YUGOSLAVIA

JOINT SLOVENE STATEMENT ON 1977 'STATEMENT'

LD102051 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1430 GMT 10 Jul 84

["Joint Statement of the Slovene LC Central Committee Presidium and the Presidium of Slovene SAWP Republican Conference in Connection with the Publication of the 'Statement of the Presidium of the Slovene LC Central Committee and the Presidium of the Slovene SAWP Republican Conference' of 1977--Full Text of the Statement"--TANJUG headline]

[Text] Ljubljana, 10 Jul (TANJUG)--"The Presidium of the Slovene LC Central Committee and the Presidium of the Slovene SAWP Republican Conference, at their sessions held on 2 and 10 July this year, discussed the political circumstances in the Socialist Republic of Slovenia. Among other things, they were acquainted on this occasion with the incomplete and somewhat distorted reports in our public about the so-called Dachau trials, which had been set in motion in the first postwar period. The two Presidiums noted that our public had not been sufficiently informed about these trials, particularly as regards the circumstances both at home and abroad, the conditions and atmosphere in which these trials took place and the reasons why the sentences were subsequently cancelled and the criminal procedures suspended. The two Presidiums adopted the decision to publish the joint statement of the Presidium of the Slovene LC Central Committee and the Presidium of the Slovene SAWP Republican Conference on the Dachau trials of 1977. For at that time, only the leaderships of the LC and of the SAWP in the Republic of Slovenia and in the municipalities was acquainted with this statement, while the public had been informed earlier only of the measures taken by the judicial organs.

"It transpires from the statement that grave errors were committed during the Dachau trials, some of which can unfortunately neither be rectified nor justified. When the political leadership's attention was drawn to the errors in the procedures, particularly in connection with the erroneous assessment of the resistance committees in the concentration camps--the members of which were chiefly communists--having been in the service of the Gestapo, it demanded, on the basis of fresh knowledge and assessments, that the trials be given a better appraisal. The initiative was made to start fresh procedures and to eliminate the consequences. The political leadership had particularly tried to have the assessments and attitudes of the Fourth LCY Central Committee Plenum held on Brioni affirmed. This represented a settling of accounts with the exponents of the statist practice and relations in society. It also

represented a significant contribution to the development of socialist self-managing democracy. This contributed to the detection and condemnation of individual abuses in the activity of the organs of internal affairs, speeded up the autonomy of judiciary organs, strengthened their independence and responsibility, and contributed to the consolidation of constitutionality and legality. All this represents the prerequisite for the development of democratic relations and the protection of man's rights and position. At the same time it is also the most efficient way and method of protecting society from the danger of similar errors being committed in the future.

"In this context it is especially necessary to point out the moral norms among peoples, particularly among communists, as regards behavior in the face of the enemy which had been in force during the entire period of the Communist Party's underground activity and in particular following the fascist occupation. Not only treason, but also any kind of hesitation or opportunist conduct had been severely condemned in order that communists and other activists might, with their example and devotion, build the trust of the masses and attract the greatest possible number of patriots into the national liberation movement.

"Both Presidiums reject all attempts at describing the so-called Dachau trials as Stalinist. These trials did not refer to conflicts of individuals or to the struggle to acquire power which was typical of Stalinist Trials, although it is a fact that in the Dachau trials, some impermissible methods and means used at the time of the Cominform were employed as well as some abuses, both of which led in a speedy and imperfect court procedure to fatal errors. The authentic national liberation struggle and revolution in Yugoslavia had not allowed the penetration of Stalinism, which was a system marked by lack of trust in the masses and arbitrariness on the part of bureaucratized rulers, or the use of violent methods in settling accounts with political opponents. Against attempts by the counterrevolution, we have, in addition to the military front, also constantly strengthened the struggle for the League of Communists, for its transformation from a party in power to the League of Communists as the leading force of the broad front of socialist forces, the alliance of working class with all strata, with all progressive working people.

"Today we also must resolutely resist everything which puts a brake on the development of socialist self-management and new forms of democratism, whether it be a question of propagandists of the multi-party system or of adherents of state socialism, the characteristics of which are lack of trust in the creativeness and strength of human forces.

"The Presidiums consistently advocate a complete, comprehensive and critical analysis of the individual periods of postwar development. This must be first and foremost the task of our science along with the support and initiatives of both Presidiums.

"The Presidium of the Slovene LC Central Committee charges all members of the LC, and the Presidium of the Slovene SAWP Republican Conference calls on all activists of this mass front organization to prevent any kind of

one-sided and tendentious presentation and explanation of postwar social circumstances. They believe that no strengthening out of errors and abuses and no condemnation of the past should or can be justification for the attempts to devalue the achievements and values of the national liberation struggle and of the revolution which are built into the foundations of the socialist self-managing system. There can and should be no abandoning of this course. Such attempts in a political struggle truly demonstrate very quickly to be a prop for the counterrevolution and a prop for the activity of the opponents of the system of socialist self-management."

CSO: 2800/404

PRISTINA LC SESSION DISCUSSES KOSOVO UNIVERSITY

LD132117 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1315 GMT 13 Jul 84

[Text] Pristina, 13 Jul (TANJUG)--At their joint session today, the Presidium of the Pristina LC Municipal Committee and the Presidium of the LC action conference of Kosovo University summed up the past ideopolitical activity directed at deepening ideological and work differentiation at the institution. The assessment was that this, popularly described as the third, round of ideological differentiation had yielded positive results in consolidating the situation at the university as a whole and that it had contributed to increasing the level of organizational standards and unity in the LC ranks as well as to the strengthening of mutual trust and security.

The assessment was also made that the appraisals and attitudes, which these two forums had adopted some time ago and on which all party organizations had made their views known, had not been accepted except by communists of the group for sociology and philosophy in the Faculty of Philosophy. It was stated that on this occasion as well earlier weaknesses, verbalism, an insufficient self-critical attitude, aggressive self-justification, self-satisfaction, insufficient participation by students, attempts at watering down individual conclusions and measures, and tendencies of opposition activity had been manifested.

In past party debate at faculties and higher schools, as Dr Miodrag Jablanovic, chairman of the university action conference, said by way of introduction at today's session, great patience and humaneness had been manifested and this had been abused by some. This refers first and foremost to some teachers of the group for sociology and of the Law Faculty. The common characteristic of these actions, specifically by Prof Gazmend Zajmi, Fehmi Agani, Ekrem Murteza and others, is to dispute action by the LC, and to put forward unacceptable theses and some kinds of antiplatform. From opportunist silence they have gone over to an aggressive manifestation of unacceptable attitudes and in this way they have come into direct conflict with the LC. The party organization of the group for sociology and philosophy has de facto not accepted the attitudes and assessments of these two presidiums, which are based on the LCY platform and the action program of the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee, and in so doing it has deviated from the LCY course.

The theses by the above-mentioned groups of teachers are, by their nature and by the messages they contain, not in line with the concrete efforts of the LC in the struggle against nationalism and they strive to go back to the situation which has on the whole been overcome and which had carried in itself the causes of the enemy events of 1981. Their tactics only appear to be perfidious while in essence they are fully transparent: They proceed from the defense of some individuals and from trying to prove that assessments about them are not accurate, while their ultimate aim is to "prove" that they do not apply either to the Chair of Sociology or to the university as a whole.

Furthermore, as Jablanovic noted, a section of teachers from the ranks of Serbs and Montenegrins and others have manifested a kind of opportunism, passive attitude, the practice of pleasing everybody, hypocrisy and indifferent behavior while behind the scenes they say different things.

It was also noted that in past debates at the university only a small number of students had taken part. True enough, they did not endorse the unacceptable attitudes of some professors. Such reserve is partly explained by their delicate situation when the responsibility of their professors is discussed. A warning was sounded, however, that ideopolitical work should embrace a greater number of students because the threat of negative influences on them and of their being recruited by various provocators still existed. All the more so since, as was observed, in the student ranks there are still individuals and groups with a hostile attitude or infiltrated from outside. This is borne out by the information that among those sentenced, students represent the largest number. The incident at the student center on the evening of 18 June, when a group of students disturbed public order and peace, also bears out this assessment. By its manifestation and synchronization in four student halls, this incident is undoubtedly a hostile act. What is encouraging, the assessment says, is that the group of 30 to 40 provocators had not managed to win over for its aims some 2,000 students who had been in their halls at the time, and that the situation was put right in 20 minutes without the intervention of public order organs.

Members of the two presidiums are unanimous in their assessment that vigilance at the student center has been reduced and that self-satisfaction on account of the undoubted results achieved in the past 3 years had begun to gain the upper hand.

At the end, the Presidium of the LC Municipal Committee and of the university LC Conference fully endorsed the information about the past activity concerned with the differentiation in this institution of higher education, to be discussed also by the municipal committee on 16 July. The information proposes that Dr Fehmi Agani and Dr Gazmend Zajmi be expelled from the LCY and that relevant party measure also be applied against Dr Ekrem Murteza.

CSO: 2800/404

YUGOSLAVIA

BOSNIA-HERCEGOVINA PRESIDENCY SESSION VIEWS RELIGIOUS COMMUNITIES

LD132150 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1715 GMT 13 Jul 84

[Excerpts] Sarajevo, 13 Jul (TANJUG)--Discussing the current issues of higher education reform and development in the republic, the Presidency of the Socialist Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina noted that the development and reform process was progressing successfully and dynamically but also fairly unevenly.

The session statement says that the need was stressed to promote, on the basis of a thorough reexamination, the self-managing organization of higher education institutions and self-managing organization and that efforts should be made to promote the system and methods of financing higher education.

The Presidency also discussed some issues of relations with religious communities, regarding implementing the constitutional and legislative provisions determining relations between society and religious communities and the constitutional-legal position of religious communities.

The session statement noted that relations with religious communities in Bosnia-Hercegovina were basically developing well. This is a result of society's constant efforts aimed at consistent implementation of the freedoms of religion--principle of equality of all religious communities and creating of conditions and full opportunities for religious communities carrying on their activity unhindered and for believers manifesting freely their religious sentiments--all of which are guaranteed by the constitution and the law. Religious communities, with their efforts to develop good relations and cooperation with society and the majority of religious officials who adhere to the established legal frameworks in carrying out religious business also contribute to such positive trends.

At the same time, in the Presidency's assessment, what hinders the positive development of relations with religious communities are cases of abuse of religion and religious feelings for political purposes, reactionary, clerico-nationalistic and antisocialist activity by individuals and groups within the frameworks of religious communities as well as phenomena of violating the rights and relations in this sphere established by the Constitution and the law.

The Presidency stressed the promotion of relations with religious communities on the basis of constitutional and legislative provisions and accepted social orientations. In this context it stressed the need for the consistent implementation of the law on the legal position of religious communities which guarantees the freedom of religion, prevents its abuse for political purposes as well as the sectarian attitude by some individuals in organs of socio-political communities towards the church and believers.

CSO: 2800/404

LCY WEAKNESSES, STRENGTHS DESCRIBED AS MISPLACED

Zagreb DANAS in Serbo-Croatian 12 Jun 84 pp 10-11

[Article by L. J.: "Critical Varieties"]

[Text] A time marked by a stagnation of self-management, a profound economic crisis that is increasingly turning into a social crisis, concrete social contradictions, and an exacerbation of social differences--which some are willing to acknowledge as class differences--could not pass without the League of Communists finding itself exposed to public scrutiny, praises, but even more criticism.

Critical darts are being shot from the other shore, but also from within the LCY's own ranks, and even from the highest forums of the LC itself. Depending on ability, mentality, habits, and goals, the critical objections are expressed openly, directly, and precisely, or else they are offered in a confused and obscure manner, without valid evidence, scientifically systematized, but also in a raised temperature of varied emotions. This is a question of criticism that seeks to surmount errors for the sake of further development and creation, but also criticism that only wants to destroy, and does not care what will come afterwards. Various antisocialist forces are competing in the wave of criticism directed against the LC, but it nevertheless seems that the communists themselves are in the forefront of criticism of the party.

Advocates

Some up-to-date monitors of critical events, following the position stated last year by Stipe Suvar, assert that in general there are two opposite criticisms of the LC. The party keeps everything in its own hands, according to the first type of criticism. It tries to demonstrate that the LC has become the main brake on the further development of socialism in this country, and not just this, but also that it is or may become virtually the cause of the failure of the socialist perspective in our country, that it is responsible for the crisis situation in society. This type of criticism insists that the LC is all-powerful and that its absolute power is the main reason for the helplessness of society, especially in finding a way out for development. The second type of criticism is the reverse of this: Not that the LC is all-powerful in the sense that "it is holding everything up

and that just by itself, as it is now, it has become the main historical brake on change, but rather that it is helpless because it has let matters slip out of its hands." A popular sophistry: Whether the LC should be stronger or weaker (some of this has even been conducted on the pages of this newspaper), it fits quite well into this classification.

As one of the varieties of the first type of criticism, monitors of the current discussions also mention Slobodan Inic, of whom they admittedly acknowledge that "in contrast to some other critics of the LC, he categorically asserts that without the party it is not possible to go further in the development of socialism," but they do not omit to stress his assertion that "it is difficult to achieve anything new with the existing organization." Inic feels that the LC organization, built in the past, is not suitable for its current tasks, since the existing organization "gives more support to the authority of political power than to the authority of production and workers." The saying is attributed to him that until now the LC has changed social reality, and that now it is time for social reality to change the LC. And "renewing the LC today as a democratic organization means overcoming its development with the aid of the leadership. In spite of differences in regard to ideology and concepts, the membership no longer wants to participate in the empty political life of the party in the manner of agreement and acceptance, and explaining and approving resolutions and conclusions," Inic claims.

Nenad Kecmanovic, although at first glance he is also neutral, in his article "Whether the LC Should Be Stronger or Weaker" (published in this newspaper) objectively found himself in a dilemma as to "whether the LC should fade away or be revived." Recalling that it is still written in the party program that the leading political role of the LCY will "disappear in the long term" ("with the development and strengthening of increasingly more comprehensive forms of direct socialist democracy"), just as it is written that the state will also fade away, Kecmanovic mentioned that that could even be a compliment to this society, which is now approaching its great goal, and that it should not be interpreted merely as a hostile attack on "what is still the only possible rescuer from the current crisis." Nevertheless, in the situation that we are in, advocating such a possibility even in principle, regardless of good intentions and the best of wills, can sound like a call to abolish the party or push aside.

Luka Markovic is mentioned as an "advocate of a stronger LC." In his "Theses on Development," he expresses dissatisfaction with the existing method of action by the vanguard in our society, but his starting points are quite different from the positions of the previous group. In contrast to them, Markovic declaratively expresses faith in the working class and in its class consciousness, but says that in order for the class to act as a revolutionary force in realizing its own historical interests, it needs an adequate, revolutionary, and resolute working class party, such as the Communist Party of Yugoslavia was at the time of the uprising and the revolution and at the time of determined resistance to Stalinism, and such as the LCY no longer is. Luka Markovic concludes that, "If such a class interest does not very soon find itself open prospects within the party, it will seek them outside the

party. No one will be able to suppress such a class interest except with open terror." Markovic, as concluded by those who have analyzed him, counts on the LC, but feels that its position cannot be maintained forever by citing its vanguard role in the revolution. He feels that instead, the LC must continually be confirmed through the struggle to realize the historical interests of the working class.

A Forced Dilemma

In reacting to Kecmanovic's article (which was also published in this newspaper), Fuad Muhic says that instead of scholastic surmises about whether the LC is stronger or weaker, one should advocate the position that we need the kind of LC required by the concrete historical circumstances. Muhic implicitly described the kind of party required by the present historical circumstances in his position that strengthening alone, if governed by concrete circumstances (the economic crisis, for example), does not have to be opposed either logically or historically to the development of self-management."

The reasons, causes, and emphases in this type of critical discussion of the party are different, but if one wanted to draw some common characteristics and points in common between the advocates of both types of policy, then they are contained in the thesis that the crisis has also seized the LC, and that this is blunting its revolutionary edge and in the final analysis making it ineffective.

Although naturally, there are such desires and attempts, it is nevertheless difficult to agree that the aim of all the criticisms expressed at the expense of the LC--in which members and nonmembers, the party rank and title, and also part of the party leadership are participating with equal heat--is a common one: eliminating the LCY or driving it to the margin of society, an "internal democratization" of it that would make possible different "options" and "ideological-political groupings" or even the creation of a multiparty system in which the LC would "even have to win its position," but there is some of this as well.

The dilemma of whether the LC is stronger or weaker is probably a forced one, artificially imposed. That is not the right question. The real dilemma is what the LCY is like. It seems that the main problem of the party today is that it is strong or weak in the wrong areas: strong where it should be weak, and weak where it should be strong. It is strong in the leadership, but often weak in the basic organization, strong in pragmatism and everyday involvement, strong in words, falling short in action, strengthened and weakened at the same time by taking upon itself the business of others because it has not been strong enough to fight for the adequate activity of the other sociopolitical organizations, stronger in acting from a position of authority than in acting within the system. Recently Jure Bilic recalled how back at the Sixth Congress the party renounced power and very close ties with the state, and decided to replace its leading role with an even closer leading role in the system. He added, however, that this congress also had its own weaknesses, since in its decisions there were also elements of a liberalistic, social-democratic initiative of the party, and so it later

turned out in practice that the LC was letting many things out of its own hands and not acting enough within the system.

It is not amiss to recall here the words that Branko Mikulic spoke at the beginning of 1980 at a large conference on the LC and the socialist revolution, which was attended by almost half of the members of the Presidium of the LCY Central Committee at that time, including Vladimir Bakaric. It seemed then that Mikulic was in particular very careful about formulating his words about the Sixth Congress of the LCY, which was held after the party had passed through a "great trial in the conflict with Stalinism," at a time when "we literally had neither bread nor salt," and when we made "isolated, historically negligible mistakes," since there was neither time nor room for "conducting great discussions to persuade all those who were wavering or who were opposing the dimensions of the state at that time." Branko Mikulic emphasized that the decisions of that Congress "returned the party to its democratic practice and to communication with the masses, which was particularly developed in the course of the National Liberation Struggle and in the first postwar years." The adoption of the law on turning factories over to worker management also made it necessary to define a new role for the LC, in fundamentally changed socioeconomic conditions.

Contradictory Activity

"This was not just a question of developing the concept of the party of the masses in the sense of its being identified with the working masses and the people, but rather that same party's renouncing the exercise of power in the name of the class and its deciding in favor of the class's exercising power," Mikulic said.

Four years ago, when these words were spoken, no one had yet surmised, or at least had not said publicly, what kind of difficulties we would soon find ourselves in. The matter of action within the system is not a simple one by any means, however. If it were, would we really have tormented ourselves for so many years, constantly, with all the vacillations and dilemmas, advocating in words action within the system and through the system, and in practice constantly sliding to those other positions?

One of the great contradictions in the social role of the LC that overstretch it is the fact that it appears and functions in a twofold manner. Thus, sociologist Srdan Vrcan thinks that the LC, both programatically and factually, is a factor in the government, and precisely at the strategically most sensitive levels of the government, and consequently it is natural that it is burdened with both the weight and the logic of the government. At the same time, both in theory and in the program, the thrust of its own social role is defined in terms of the leading ideological and political force, which achieves its key goals first of all through its reputation and influence, and confirms this on a daily basis in a pluralistically articulated socialist society. It was this contradiction that Kardelj warned about when he spoke of the differences between a one-party political system and a self-managing system, and between the action of a classic political party in power in a one-party system and the LC in a self-managing system. For him,

these differences were not merely superficial; instead, they affect the very essence of the sociopolitical system.

Vrcan warns that objectively this contradiction is intensified and becomes stronger in certain circumstances, especially when there is an exacerbation of the existing social contradictions and when crisis situations appear more widely, or when unconquerable difficulties occur for someone in the implementation of the LC's leading ideological and political role within the democratic framework of the self-management system. In such situations, the logic of the matter itself forces parts of the LC to believe that the emphasis in social action should be placed on government and on the methods of government.

Thus, the dilemma of whether the LC should be stronger or weaker does not exist at all. Naturally, in the present circumstances, we need as strong an LCY as possible. The dilemma is only on what basis it should be stronger; from a position of power, or stronger with the authority that it will create through its own reputation and arguments. It could be shown that the party, even if it becomes stronger through the methods of government, will actually remain not strong enough, or weak. An open and clear coming to terms with its own weakness and failures can suggest a conclusion of the LC's weakness only if nothing changes after such critical scrutiny.

The initiation of intensive self-critical and critical discussions is to the benefit of an organization that has always had an ear for the speech of the times, and probably that will also be the case in the future.

9909

CSO: 2800/367

FUAD MUHIC CALLED 'IDEOLOGICAL MINUTEMAN'

Zagreb DANAS in Serbo-Croatian 29 May 84 p 42

[Letter to the editor from Laslo Toma of Zagreb "On the Ideological 'Minuteman'"]

[Text] The latest statement by Fuad Muhic in issue 118 of DANAS, dated 22 May 1984, reminded me irresistibly of the institution of the American "minutemen." To remind readers of what these were, I will only say that during the anti-Soviet hysteria in the United States, volunteer units called "minutemen" were formed, whose slogan was something like "Tell us where the Russians are, and we will be ready in a minute." Naturally, today this is funny even to the Americans themselves.

Fuad Muhic, however, who obviously does not have any feeling for the grotesque, has in the public statements of his of which I am aware, played precisely the comical role of an ideological "minuteman." I consider it a great pity that people who would probably be able to say a great deal about such phenomena (for example, teachers from the political school in Kumrovac, teachers from the Faculty of Political Sciences in Zagreb, etc.) have remained more or less passive, without reacting to them, and especially not "immediately," but this does not mean that Muhic should be accepted as an official ideologue.

I wish to emphasize again, as in issue 111 of DANAS, that I think that all similar phenomena, such as the views of Kangrga, Kecmanovic, Stojanovic, Inic, etc., should be critically elucidated, but I am pleading for a reasoned dialogue and for reasoned polemics. But let us see what Muhic is doing again.

He stated very categorically, again without valid arguments, that for a long time now our intelligentsia has been differentiated into the one that left the LC and the one that remained in the LC, but was not homogenized. Then he goes into a merciless criticism of these intelligentsias, noting in passing, in his well-known manner, on the basis of Kecmanovic's discussions, the latter's sympathy (not documented by anything) for all enemies of the LC.

But it completely drives one out of one's mind that in addition to him, probably as the "healthy" intelligentsia, on one hand, and the intelligentsia on the "other" hand, there is also an intelligentsia in the LC that does not

have the time to entertain itself as he does, but rather, through its everyday honest work, maintains and tries to restore the undeniably somewhat shaken reputation of the LC. Muhic should forgive me for this, but I will permit myself to number myself and thousands of my colleagues throughout the factories of Yugoslavia in the category of intellectuals that Muhic completely overlooks.

But let us take a further look at Muhic's methods. Concerning all those who do not think in accordance with the "operative party stereotype," Muhic assumes a priori that they are either "the Trojan horses of the opposition," or "mischievous children playing"; clearly this assertion is also not supported by valid arguments. He does not even make an effort to engage in polemics with the aid of facts and arguments, but instead again uses the proven method of name-calling.

Muhic states that "for a serious discussion it would be necessary for them to show at least one significant indicator that the working class and other working people are seeking ways out of the present crisis situations within the framework of party and ideological pluralism." If they have not given any to him, I will. Specifically, the increasingly more unfavorable structure of the membership of the LC, along with the increasingly more pronounced departure from the LC on the part of workers, instead of a process of increased entry by workers into the LC, is certainly sufficient as an indicator, which should disturb every undogmatic member of the LC and force him to think. This phenomenon obviously does not bother Muhic at all.

Muhic says further, "Who, in fact, would guarantee that the 'leftist bloc,' either as a whole or partially, could remain immune to nationalism, that cancerous tissue..." This is really a shallow criticism, if we know that we had precisely such a "cancerous tissue" in Kosovo. But I do not recall Fuad Muhic at that time having anything against that "cancerous tissue," when it was obvious that it existed, but Mahmut Bakalli was still in power.

9909

CSO: 2800/367

MARJANOVIC ANSWERS CRITIC REGARDING 'HOSTILE PROPAGANDA'

Zagreb DANAS in Serbo-Croatian 26 Jun 84 pp 42-43

[Article by Djordji Marjanovic: "Disqualification of Ideas"]

[Text] There is a proven way of disqualifying other people's ideas: Their author is given a few labels--at least that of a "petitioner" or "human rights activist"(??), if something stranger cannot be found--and then one does not have to deal with the ideas themselves at all. Unlike P. Pletikosa, I do not read the CHETNIK, USTASHA, or any other emigre publications, so that I have no idea what they think of me. Moreover, their opinion is utterly irrelevant to me.

My Struga paper, in which I attack the guilt of enemy propaganda for its false and malicious presentation of sociopolitical conditions in our country, was written for domestic consumption (at the request of the League of Associations for Criminal Law and Criminology for a professional meeting devoted to the topic, "The System of Criminal Law in Yugoslavia--An Appraisal of Its Practice and Development to the Present"). According to P. Pletikosa's logic I should burn my paper for the only reason that it was praised, among others, by the emigre press. Thus Wagner should be burned because Hitler praised him, not to mention Friedrich Nietzsche. I do not doubt that this brave logician would counsel Marx to burn his work so that it could not be abused by Stalin. Unfortunately, it is the fate of every idea that it can be used to the benefit as well as the detriment of man.

P. Pletikosa's example can illustrate one more phenomenon of man's thinking: The less one knows about something, the clearer his idea of it. P. Pletikosa has read some 50 lines of a review (a very correct one, however) of my Struga paper in the magazine DANAS and immediately had a clear idea that my proposal for the abolition of article 133 subsection 1 of the SFRJ criminal law joins those "proposals," petitions and similar things which attempt to say that our legal system, criminal legislation, and penal policy not only do not agree with the achievements of socialism but that they also lag behind bourgeois society. It is true that I have nowhere mentioned "bourgeois society" or made any parallels between it and our society, but P. Pletikosa's imagination is not surprising at all in the mountainous Balkans--after all, did not Nusic's character Jerotije detect an antidynastic plot in a prescription to use the constipation of a pharmacy assistant?

P. Pletikosa disputes my right to enter into polemics with G. Babic, "a writer and member of the RK SSRNH Presidency, thus an official," On the basis of what law can this right be taken away from me?

After having disparaged about 20 prominent persons, G. Babic publicly criticized the people at BORBA for having published their replies, according to the law. This made me very angry. I sat down and wrote a contribution for BORBA, which it did not publish, and which contains, among other things, the following lines: "As G. Babic obviously does not know this, he must be told that the difference between a right and a privilege consists in the fact that one must give to others too what one claims for oneself."

I wrote to BORBA without having been invited, the same as P. Pletikosa, anyway. I wrote to them precisely in order to express my disagreement with the opinion of the author of the introduction to the "Polemics" that the talk till then did not revolve around "theses," phenomena, controversies, various knots and bottlenecks in his "communist circulatory system" of ours. On the contrary, I thought that in all those BORBA Sunday editions there was talk precisely of the most essential question of our self-management socialism, the question: What to do next? Shall we accept G. Babic's repressive political philosophy or shall we listen to Rosa Luxemburg and sincerely accept her political-philosophical credo that freedom always means freedom for the one who thinks differently..

My denunciation of G. Babic also attempted to prove something that looks improbable at first sight--namely that Rosa Luxemburg's political philosophy is preferred by G. Babic himself, too, only that he still (I especially emphasize this) is not aware of it.

I will invent one example in order to prove this: a citizen of this country, a hard-core Stalinist, convicted for a criminal act against the people and the state, a man whose political philosophy is alienated from whatever is taking place in Yugoslavia, talks at a meeting or writes in some newspaper that he can quote many other examples of honest people who suffered for their communist convictions and their commitment to progress. No public prosecutor in this country would vacillate in writing a bill of indictment for the criminal act of enemy propaganda against such a citizen. It is clear whom this man has in mind when he says that there are many honest people in our country who are suffering today for their communist conviction, etc.

And now I am asking G. Babic (and anybody who is reading this): Is it possible that one and the same statement, put into the mouth of a convinced enemy of our self-management socialism, has one meaning and quite definite criminal-law consequences (it can cost him from 1 to 10 years of freedom), while in the mouth of an official of the republic or of any other official it has a completely different significance and does not entail any criminal-law consequences.

It is not possible! For a contrary answer would mean just one thing--that we, by punishing one but not the other for the same statement are in fact punishing people for their thoughts. The lie uttered maliciously is punishable--and the lie uttered out of noble motives is praiseworthy.

Why should I not have the right to send this message to a "writer and member of RK SSRNH, thus an official"? I think that people in power should be criticized for their mistakes precisely while they are in power. Not in order to topple them, but simply to point out to them that they have taken the wrong way and are erring, so that they would not err in the future. Otherwise, it is very easy to criticize those who have lost power, only this is not my idea of a socialist humanism or social morality.

I could ask P. Pletikosa a few more things. For example, why should it be below dignity for a university professor to quote lines from the NARODNA MILICIJA [People's Police] newspaper, which published the statement of the state secretary for inner affairs at the time quite correctly and completely? Or what is the source of the idea that other assembly materials would throw a different light on legislative motives for incriminating this kind of hostile propaganda, different from the one contained in the words of the minister who explains the policy which they want a legal text to contain?

So much for the answer to P. Pletikosa's weak words.

12455

CSO: 2800/389

CROAT SAWP CONFERENCE ON RELIGION

LD122228 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1503 GMT 12 Jul 84

[Text] Zagreb, 12 Jul (TANJUG)--Religious freedom and religious equality regulated by our social system objectively prevents any attempt to use religious convictions and the activity of religious communities for political purpose. This is all the more important because the ban on the abuse of religion for political purposes in our federal and multinational community means consistent respect for the [word indistinct] mechanism which prevents various religious convictions from being used as a political basis to create mistrust, quarrels and clashes among members of various religious communities. This is very often reflected on intranational relations and this also leads in the final analysis to violation of national equality, brotherhood and unity in our country.

This was noted by Branko Puharic, chairman of the Committee for the Social Questions of Religion of the Croatian SAWP republican conference, in his introductory report at the session of the republican conference today. The subjects of the debate were some current issues of the activity of the religious communities and the tasks of the Socialist Alliance.

In Puharic's words, the activity of the religious communities in our country should be seen from the political-legal position of citizens in the political system. The constitutional and legal sanctioning of the principle of freedom of religion represents a judicial legality which regulates questions of religious freedoms and religious equality, while the activity of religious communities is structured to allow the citizen to freely use this freedom. Thus, the depolitization of the church is a principle whereby the church is not a political subject of society. It is the principles of the separation of the church and the state and religious convictions being the citizens' private matter that the activity of religious communities has been resolved both as a matter of principle and strategy--Puharic stressed.

Having stressed that for the relations between the church and the state in Croatia, the most significant role is that of relations with the Catholic Church, Puharic noted that apart from the constitution and the laws, the protocol settling the relations between the SFRY and the Holy See of 1966 was essential.

Recalling the basic provisions of this document Puharic said that the protocol was confirmed as a broad and stable foundation for the development of mutual relations.

If one assesses the implementation of the obligations stemming from the protocol, then this basis, in Puharic's assessment, should have two meanings.

Relations between the SFRY and the Vatican as two sovereign states could be assessed as positive.

Unfortunately, such a positive assessment of the correct nature and stability of mutual relations could not be made in full with reference to the relations between the Catholic Church and the state in this republic. These relations are more favorable and more acceptable now than before. But it is an exaggeration to say that they are satisfactory in specifics as firm social conditions exist for them to be much better.

The Catholic Church in Croatia, Puharic said among other things, or rather, a section of its leadership, constantly avoids to state and proclaim publicly its attitude about the social reality of Yugoslavia and about the acceptance of our socio-political system. Puharic cited as an example the fact that for years a section of the highest church dignitaries had persistently, in an organized manner and systematically, avoided the use of the noun--Yugoslavia, when speaking about our country and our social community. The case of the SFRY national anthem is similar; the playing of it is being systematically avoided. The attempt to give the national anthem of the socialist Republic of Croatia a character which is outside the Constitution of Croatia represents a typical example of abuse of religion for political purposes. It is not a problem that this anthem is sung at some religious meetings; the problem arises if manipulations with it are started, if it is being proclaimed as a church hymn and if the attempt is made to stress reserve towards the Yugoslav socialist community by adding to it nationalistic overtones.

How is it that today--when the Croatian people, together with all other peoples in Socialist Yugoslavia had successfully fought for its full freedom and when it holds the reins of its destiny in its own hands--this same church offers the Croatian people help in the "protection of its interests." Having stressed that attempts to abuse the identification of the church and of the national interest for political purposes are made, Puharic said that some similar sounds with political overtones could also be heard from a section of the hierarchy of the Serbian Orthodox Church. Such views could threaten the destiny not only of these two peoples, but they could also have serious political consequences for brotherhood and unity and for fellowship of all our nations and nationalities. To play the card of national confrontation of the nations and nationalities of Yugoslavia means to adopt the most reactionary political attitude regarding the goals of socialist construction and the existence of this country, Puharic said.

Having assessed that relations with the Serbian Orthodox Church as well as with the Islamic religious community are correct and basically good, Puharic

went on to say that in this respect some unacceptable tendencies should also be pointed out.

The theses coming from the ranks of the Serbian Orthodox Church about it being the only guardian of the memory of the victims of the Serbian people in the Second World War, that the entire Croatian people were responsible for the suffering of the Serbian people and hints about the Serbian people in Croatia being threatened, seriously call into question the attitude of the propagators of these ideas on SFRY integrity.

In the Islamic religious community there are phenomena of linking up the national and the religious on the fundamentalist basis, of understanding religious premises as Islamic centers and of describing Zagreb as the present border to the penetration of Islam to the West.

In summing up the policy of society towards the activity of religious communities, Puharic said that we must oppose energetically and consistently all forms and attempts of political manipulation with religious sentiments of citizens and the attempts to take the activity of religious communities out of the constitutional context, and regarding the Catholic Church, also out of context of the agreed on obligations contained in the protocol.

And second, regarding the prospects of these relations, it is necessary for us to be also consistent in opposing all forms of sectarianism and dogmatism in the ranks of the front of subjective socialist forces, Puharic said at the end of his introductory report.

CSO: 2800/404

YUGOSLAVIA

BRIEFS

ARMENIAN DELEGATION--Belgrade, 6 Jul (TANJUG)--Dusan Alimpic, president of the SFRY Assembly, today received a delegation of the Armenian Soviet Socialist Republic which is on an official visit to Montenegro, led by Babken Yesayevich Sarkisov, chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of Armenia. Other members of the delegation are Karlen Gambaryan, secretary of the Central Committee of the CP of Armenia, Dzhon Kirakosyan, minister of foreign affairs, and Ashot Kazaryan, Supreme Soviet deputy. In friendly talks, which were attended also by Branko Lukovac, president of the Republican Committee for International Cooperation of Montenegro, and by Edward Krasavin, charge d'affairs of the Soviet embassy, members of the delegation informed Alimpic of their impressions of meetings and talks in Montenegro and of agreements on further cooperation of the two republics, which are part of the friendly overall Yugoslav-Soviet cooperation. In confirming the significance attached to this cooperation, Dusan Alimpic expressed his satisfaction with the comprehensive development of good bilateral relations and acquainted his visitors with SFRY assembly activity in resolving the topical tasks in the current stage of the economic stabilization policy. [Text] [LD062231 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1655 GMT 6 Jul 84]

CSO: 2800/404

END